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AN

HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIVES AND WRITINGS

OF

James I. and Charles I.

AND OF

THE LIVES

OF

Oliver Cromwell and Charles II.

AFTER THE MANNER OF MR. BAYLE.

FROM

ORIGINAL WRITERS AND STATE-PAPERS.

BY WILLIAM HARRIS.

A NEW EDITION,

WITH A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR, A GENERAL INDEX, &c.

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

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AN

HISTORICAL AND CRITICAL

ACCOUNT

OF THE

LIFE

OF

Oliver Cromwell,

LORD PROTECTOR OF THE COMMONWEALTH OF ENGLAND, SCOTLAND AND IRELAND.

THE LIFE

OF

OLIVER CROMWELL.

OLIVER CROMWELL, son of Robert Cromwell, and Elizabeth Stuart, his wife, was born at Huntington, on the twenty-fourth of April, one thousand five hundred ninety-nine. His family, which was considerable, I shall give some account of in the note [1].

[1] I shall give some account of his family.] We are naturally inquisitive about the descents and alliances of those who have figured in the world. Whether they sprung from new or old families? whether their fathers were men of renown? or they themselves first gave lustre to their name? are questions usually asked by such as read or hear concerning them. To gratify the curiosity of the reader then, the following account has been collected.——"That his (Oliver's) extraction by the father's side, was from Sir Richard Williams, knight, a gentleman of eminent note (says Sir William Dugdale) in the court of king Henry VIII. and son to Morgan ap Williams (a Welchman) by sister to Thomas lord Cromwell earl of Essex, is not to be doubted. Who being by his uncle preferred to the service of king Henry, was for that cause (and no other) called Cromwell, as is apparent enough from

He was educated in grammar learning in the free-school at Huntington, under Dr. Thomas Beard, a minister of that town; from whence he was sent to Cambridge, entered into Sydney-Sussex College, April 23, 1616, and placed under the tuition of Mr. Richard Howlett [a].

What progress in learning he made in the

testimonies of credit [b]." If I have not been misinformed, many gentlemen of the name of Williams, in Wales, value themselves on this descent of Oliver Cromwell. Dugdale's account has been lately contested by a gentleman who thinks it "more probable that this family descended by the females from Ralph lord Cromwell of Tattenhall in Lincolnshire, the last heir male of which was lord high treasurer in the reign of Henry VI. and one of his coheiresses married Sir William Williams, whose descendents might afterwards take the name of Cromwell, in hopes of attaining that title which Humphry Bouchier, a younger son of the then earl of Essex, who married the eldest of the coheiresses, actually had, and was killed at Barnet field, fighting on the side of king Edward IV [c]. — Which of these accounts is most probable must be left to the judgment of the reader.—However, this is certain, that Sir Richard Cromwell above mentioned was sheriff of Cambridgeshire and Huntingtonshire in the time of Henry VIII. was a great favourite and commander in the wars, and had grants of abbey lands in Huntingtonshire to the amount, as they were then rated, of three thousand pounds a year. His son, sir Henry, was four times sheriff of the county. Sir Oliver, uncle to the Protector, gave king James I. the greatest feast that had been given to a king by a subject, had a great estate, and

[a] Peck's Desiderata Curiosa, vol. II. b. 7. p. 66. Wood's Fasti, vol. II. c. 88.

[b] Short View of the Troubles in England, p. 458. Oxford, 1681. Foli .

[c] Biographia Britannica, vol. III. Article Cromwell, note A.

university we have no particular account of, but as he understood some Latin, and had a taste for polite literature, probably his time was not wholly misemployed there [a].

During his continuance at Cambridge, his

was a zealous royalist [a]," but "had his composition remitted by the parliament for his kinsman's sake [b]." It is no wonder then to find a family of such a rank allied to the Hampdens, the St. Johns, and the Barringtons, names of some of our most ancient and eminent families.——Mr. Coke tells us, "his father being asked whether he knew the Protector, he said, Yes, and his father too, when he kept his brew-house in Huntington [c]." Dugdale will explain this.—"Robert Cromwell," says he, "though he was by the countenance of his elder brother (Sir Oliver) made a justice of peace in Huntingtonshire, had but a slender estate; much of his support being a brew-house, in Huntington, chiefly managed by his wife, who was sister to Sir Robert Stewart of the city of Ely, knight, and by her had issue this our famous Oliver [d]." This every reasonable and considerate person will think no discredit to the family. For in England trade is not disgraceful to a gentleman. The younger brothers of our best families engage in it, and thereby raise themselves to fortune and independency, and advance the riches and power of their country. A much more honourable method of procuring a maintenance than following the levees of ministers and favourites, and engaging to execute their mischievous and fatal schemes!

[a] He understood some Latin, and had a taste for polite literature.] Here are my authorities. Burnet says, "he had no foreign language, but the little Latin that stuck to him from his education, which he spoke very vitiously and

[a] Biographia Britannica, vol. III. Article Cromwell, note A. [b] Whitlock's Memorials, 2d edit. p. 300. [c] Detection, vol. II. p. 57. Lond. 1694. [d] Short View, p. 459.

father dying, he returned home to his mother, who after some time sent him to Lincolns Inn, where, instead of applying himself to the study of the law, he learned the follies and vices of the town [3].

scantily [a]." Another writer observes that "The usurper loved, or affected to love, men of wit.—Mr. Waller frequently waited on him, being his kinsman; and as he often declared, observed him to be very well read in the Greek and Roman story [b]." The following passage I give at length, not doubting the reader will be pleased with it. "When Cromwell took on him the protectorship, in the year 1653, the very morning the ceremony was to be perform'd, a messenger came to Dr. Manton, to acquaint him that he must immediately come to Whitehall: the doctor asked him the occasion: he told him he should know that when he came there. The Protector himself, without any previous notice, told him what he was to do, *i. e.* to pray upon that occasion: the doctor laboured all he could to be excused, and told him it was a work of that nature which required some time to consider and prepare for it. The Protector replied, That he knew he was not at a loss to perform the service he expected from him; and opening his study-door, he put him in with his hand, and bid him consider there; which was not above half an hour: the doctor employed that time in looking over his books, which he said was a noble collection [c]." Manton was a judge.

These passages do not indeed prove Oliver's application in the university; but as a taste for books and learning is generally acquired in the early part of life, it is no way improbable that he formed it there.

[3] Instead of studying the law, he learned the vices and

[a] Burnet's History of his own Times. Dutch edit. 12mo. p. 100. 1725.
[b] Waller's Life, prefixed to his Poems, p. 30. Lond. 1722. 12mo. [c] Life of Dr. Manton, p. 20. 8vo. Lond. 1725.

This involved him in expences which his fortune would ill bear, and reduced him to some difficulties. But his vices were of no long con-

follies of the town.] His small proficiency at Lincolns Inn, we may, I think, fairly enough conclude from the following passage of a professed panegyrist. "He came to Lincolns Inn, where he associated himself with those of the best rank and quality, and the most ingenuous persons; for though he were of a nature not averse to study and contemplation; yet he seemed rather addicted to conversation and the reading of men, and their several tempers, than to a continual poring upon authors[a]." But this is by no means sufficient to give us an idea of Oliver in his younger years. We are by one writer furthermore told, that "the first years of his manhood were spent in a dissolute course of life, in good fellowship and gaming[b]." Dugdale is more large. "In his youth," says he, "he was for some time bred up in Cambridge; [he omits his being at one of the inns of court] where he made no great proficiency in any kind of learning; but then and afterwards sorting himself with drinking companions, and the ruder sort of people (being of a rough and blustering disposition) he had the name of a Royster amongst most that knew him; and by his exorbitances so wasted his patrimony; that, having attempted his uncle Stewart for a supply of his wants, and finding that by a smooth way of application to him he could not prevail, he endeavoured by colour of law to lay hold of his estate, representing him as a person not able to govern it. But therein he failed[c]."

Wood observes, "that his father dying whilst he was at Cambridge, he was taken home and sent to Lincolns Inn to study the common law, but making nothing of it, he was sent for home by his mother, became a debauchee, and a boysterous and rude fellow[d]." Thus, according to these writers,

[a] Portraiture of his Royal Highness Oliver, p. 6. 12mo. 1659. [b] Warwick's Memoirs, p. 249. 8vo. Lond. 1702. [c] Dugdale's Short View, p. 459. [d] Fasti, vol. II. c. 88.

tinuance. He soon recovered himself, and at the age of twenty-one years, married Elizabeth [4] daughter of Sir James Bouchier, of Essex, knight,

Oliver misspent his time and fell into vice; and though very probably his faults are heightened by the authors here quoted, yet I make no doubt but there is some foundation for the charge. For in a letter to Mrs. St. John, his cousin, dated Ely, 18th Oct. 1639, he has the following expressions. "You know what my manner of life hath been. O, I lived in, and loved darkness, and hated the light; I was a chief, the chief of sinners. This is true, I hated godliness, yet God had mercy on me[a]." Which words undoubtedly imply some personal vice or other to which he had been addicted, though we cannot, at this distance, well tell what it was with certainty.

[4] He married Elizabeth Bouchier——who shewed due submission to him.] The Bouchiers were ancient as a family; from hence probably arose the spirit and pride of Mrs. Cromwell. Whether these led her into any indecencies with respect to her neighbours, appears not even from the foes of the family. With regard to her husband she had merit, i. e. she was affectionate, obedient, submissive, and desirous to please: qualities vastly beyond any which result from birth, beauty, parts or wealth. What led me to consider her in this light, is the following letter to Oliver, which will be read I dare say with pleasure, especially as it is the only one of hers which has been handed down to posterity.

December the 27th, 1650.

MY DEARIST,

"I wonder you should blame me for writing nowe oftnir, when I have sent thre for one: I canenot but thenk they ar miscarid. Truly if I knog my one hart I should ase soune neglect myself ase to the least thought towards you, hoe in douing of it I must doe it to myself; but when I doe writ,

[a] Thurloe's State Papers, vol. I. p. 1. fol. Lond. 1742.

said to be a woman of spirit and parts, and not wanting in pride[a], though she shewed all due submission to her husband. Soon after his marriage he settled at Huntington, his native country; but upon the death of his uncle, Sir Robert Stewart, who left him an estate of be-

my dear, I seldome have any satisfactore anser, wich makse me thenk my writing is slited, as well it mae; but I cannot but thenk your love covene my weknisis and infirmetis. I should rejoys to hear your desire in seeing me, but I desire to submit to the providens of God, howping the Lord, houe hath seperated us, and heth oftune brought us together agane, wil in heis good time breng us agane, to the prase of heis name. Truly my lif is but half a lif in your abseinse, deid not the Lord make it up in heimself, which I must acknoleg to the prase of heis grace. I would you would thenk to writ sometims to your deare frend me Lord Chef Justes, of hom I have oftune put you in mind: and truly, my deare, if you would thenk of what I put you in mind of sume, it might be of as much purpos ase others, writting sumetims a letter to the Presedent, and sometims to the Speiker. Indeid, my deare, you cannot thenk the rong you doe yourself in the whant of a letter, though it wer but seldome. I pray think of, and soe rest yours in all faithfulnise,

"ELIZ. CROMWELL[b]."

In conformity to the representations of others I have mentioned Mrs. Cromwell's spirit and pride: how the latter appeared I know not. It is not said that she loved state and magnificence, that she was delighted with flattery, or fond of power. Nor do I remember to have seen any addresses made to her either by the court divines, or poets of her age, though her husband, and her son Richard had store of them.

[a] See Heath's Flagellum, p. 4.

[b] Milton's State Papers, by Nickolls, p. 40. fol. Lond. 1743.

tween four and five hundred pounds a year, he removed to the Isle of Ely. Here again it is said that he fell into great straits and difficulties, through an excess of superstition; though the accounts given of it[5] are, in my opinion, far enough from being probable.

So that I should rather conclude her meek and humble, than proud and high-spirited; though we have no facts given us from whence we may draw the one or the other conclusion. What confirms me in the opinion of her real good character is, that Dugdale and Bates, who have drawn the most ugly pictures of Cromwell, have left hers untouched, which I am persuaded they would not have done, could they have found any thing to fasten on. Bates, being physician to the family, must have had opportunities sufficient for information; and after the Restoration it was making court to abuse any part of Oliver's family.

I am confirmed in my opinion of Mrs. Cromwell, by the following passage in Ludlow, which I observed not till I had written the above. "He [the Protector] removed from the Cock-pit, which house the parliament had assign'd him, to take possession of Whitehall, which he assign'd to himself. His wife seem'd at first unwilling to remove thither, tho' afterwards she became better satisfied with her grandeur [a]."

[5] He fell into straits and difficulties through an excess of superstition.] Let us hear what is said on this head by writers prejudiced against his memory. "Adolescens cum fœmina nobili confarreavit; sed brevi postea tum sua tum materna bona, (pater enim ante defunctus erat) effusus in luxum, funditus dilapidavit, adeo ut ad restim propemodum rediger etur. Dein agens resipiscentiam, concionibus sacris, lectionibus piis, & mortificationis operibus totus vacat; conductoque zythepsario, velut rem familiarem quam antè decoxerat recocturus, eidem dat operam, simul et agriculturæ,

[a] Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. II. p 488.

Certain it is, he was very regular at this time

Ab eo tempore, avunculo illum summopere peroso, Roberto Stewardo equiti, regiorum quorundam & clericorum operâ conciliatus est, hæresque tandem scriptus. Patrimonio tamen paulò pòst ad assem pessundato, statuit Novam Angliam proficisci, omniaque in hunc finem preparat[a]." i. e. "In his youth he married a gentlewoman, but by his profuse and luxurious way of living, in a short time he squandered away both his mother's and his wife's estate, so that he was almost reduced to beggary. Afterwards, assuming the behaviour of a penitent, he gave himself wholly up to the hearing of sermons, reading of godly books, and works of mortification; and having got a brewhouse, he applied himself to the brewing trade, and also to husbandry. After that his uncle Sir Robert Stewart, who had an aversion to him, being reconciled by the means of some clergymen and courtiers, left him his fortune. But shortly after, having again run out of all, he resolved to go to New England, and prepares all things for that end."

Dugdale, after having spoken of "his most formally canting in their [the Puritans] demure language and affected tone, and frequenting the sermons of the fiercest Beautefeaus," tells us "he was necessitated through his low condition to quit a country farm, which he held at St. Ives, and betake himself to mean lodgings in Cambridge[b]." This necessity another writer lays upon his overmuch religion, which induced him to have long prayers with his family in a morning, and again in the afternoon, at which his plowmen and all his country servants always attended. Mr. Hume, after his manner, has improved upon all these writers. "All of a sudden, the spirit of reformation seized him; he married, affected a grave and composed behaviour, entered into all the zeal and rigour of the puritanical party, and offered to restore to every one whatever sums he had formerly gained

[a] Ellenchi Motuum nuperorum in Anglia ab Georgio Bateo, pars secunda, p. 219. 8vo. Lond. 1663. [b] Dugdale's Short View, p. 460.

in his whole behaviour, publicly addicted to no

by gaming. The same vehemence of temper which had transported him into the extreams of pleasure, now distinguished his religious habits. His house was the resort of all the zealous clergy of the party; and his hospitality as well as his liberalities to the silenced and deprived ministers, proved as chargeable as his former debaucheries. Tho' he had acquired a tolerable fortune by a maternal uncle, he found his affairs so injured by his expences, that he was obliged to take a farm at St. Ives, and apply himself, for some years, to agriculture, as a profession. But this expedient served rather to involve him in further debts and difficulties. The long prayers which he said to his family in the morning and again in the afternoon, consumed his own time and that of his ploughmen; and he reserved no leisure for the care of his temporal affairs[a]." There is a deal of confusion in all these accounts, and I believe at the bottom, but little truth. For who can think that Oliver, though certainly an enthusiast, had so little sense as to run himself out after such a ridiculous manner? No man better knew than himself that there was a season for every thing, and though he loved to pray, and preach too on occasion, yet he was never known in any other part of life to neglect his affairs. Mr. Hume should have known too, that the clergy with whom Cromwell associated, were not of a temper to ruin even the most hospitable: good cheer was far enough from being their chief object. But waving all this, I would be glad to know how these accounts of his poverty are to be reconciled with the known facts of his being elected a member of parliament in 1628; and the successful opposition he actually made to the earl of Bedford, and other great men, in the business of draining the Fens?

Sir Philip Warwick, an eminent royalist, lived some time near Huntington[b], and conversed with Dr. Simcott,

[a] Hume's History of Great Britain, vol. II. p. 45. 4to. Lond. 1757. [b] Memoirs, p. 249.

vice, but a professor of religion even to a degree of[6] enthusiasm, to which through the

Cromwell's physician, from whom he learned many particulars: but he is totally silent on this head, and therefore very probably there is no truth in what is above related.

Since writing the above, I find Cromwell speaking concerning his situation in life in the following manner: "I was by birth a gentleman, living neither in any considerable height, nor yet in obscurity." Words spoken to his parliament Sept. 12, 1654, and abundantly sufficient to confute the idle stories in this note recited. Milton also, speaking concerning him, says, "Is matura jam atque firmata ætate, quàm & privatus traduxit, nulla re magis quam religionis cultu purioris, & integritate vitæ cognitus, domi in occulto creverat"——— i. e. "Being now arrived to a mature and ripe age, which he spent as a private person, noted for nothing more than the cultivation of pure religion, and integrity of life, he was grown rich at home[a]."—After this, I hope, we shall hear no more of Oliver's extreme poverty.

[6] He was a professor of religion even to a degree of enthusiasm.] The reader who has seen nothing but modern manners, may wonder to hear religion made part of a great man's character. He who should now even but make the least public pretence to it, would go near to be ridiculed for a fool or a fanatic. The Brutes, the Wrongheads, the Fribbles have figured so long, that they are become very familiar, and deemed top characters. But in the last century things were otherwise: a man's being religious was thought one qualification even for a post in the army, and mentioned as such by lord Strafforde[b], and we well know that the appearance of religion was kept up by gentlemen of the most distinguished rank. So that Oliver's re-

[a] Milton's Prose Works, vol. II. p. 395. 4to. Lond. 1753. See also the quotation from Clarendon in note 15.

[b] Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches, vol. I. p. 17. fol. Lond. 1739.

remaining part of his life he seemed greatly inclined.

ligion was meritorious in the eyes of those around him, and tended much to advance his character.

And that he was really religious, seems to appear from the following letter most generously permitted to be transcribed for me, by the trustees of the British Museum. It is written to Mr. Storie, and dated St. Ives, Jan. 11, 1635.

"Mr. Storie, amongst the catalogue of those good workes which your fellowe cityeenes and our cuntrie men have donn, this will not be reckoned for the least that they have provided for the feedinge of soules: buildinge of hospitalls provides for mens bodyes, to build materiall temples is iudged a worke of pietye, but they that procure spirituall food, they that builde up spirituall temples, they are the men truly charitable, trulye pious. Such a work as this was y our erectinge the lecture in our cuntrie, in the which you placed Dr. Welles, a man of goodnesse and industrie and abilitie to doe good every way: not short of any I knowe in England, and I am perswaded that sithence his cominge, the Lord by him hath wrought much good amongst us. It only remains now that he whoe first moved you to this, put you forward to the continewance thereof, it was the Lord, and therefore to him lift we up our harts that he would perfect itt. And surely Mr. Storie it were a piteous thinge to see a lecture fall in the hands of soe manie able and godly men as I am perswaded the founders of this are, in theise times wherin wee see they are suppressed with too much hast, and violence by the enemies of God, his truth, far be it that soe much guilt should sticke to your hands, who live in a cityе so renowned for the clere shininge light of the gospell. You knowe Mr. Storie to withdrawe the pay is to lett fall the lecture, for whoe goeth to warfare at his owne cost. I beseech you therefore in the howells of Christ Jesus putt it forward and let the good man have his

pay. The soules of God his children will bless you for it: and soe shall I, and ever rest

"Your lovinge friend in the Lord,

"OLIVER CROMWELL.

"Commende my hearty love to Mr. Busse, Mr. Beadly, and my other good friends. I would have written to Mr. Busse, but I was loath to trouble him with a longe letter, and I feared I should not receive an answer from him, from you I expect one soe soon as conveniently you may. *Vale.* To my very lovinge friend Mr. Storie, at the sign of the Dogg in the Royal Exchange London, dle. theise."

The importance of this letter to Cromwell's character will excuse the length of it, especially as it is an original, and now first published.

But he not only practised the external duties of religion (real inward religion appears not to men, but by its fruits) but he was carried away into enthusiasm. He fancied himself favoured and distinguished by heaven; that God in answer to his prayers afforded him supernatural illumination and assistance.——"I had occasion to converse with Mr. Cromwell's physician, Dr. Simcott, who assured me, that for many years his patient was a most splenetick man, and had phansyes about the cross in that town; and that he had been called up to him at midnight and such unseasonable hours very many times, upon a strong phancy, which made him believe he was then dying; and there went a story of him, that in the day-time lying melancholy in his bed, he believed that a spirit appeared to him, and told him he should be the greatest man (not mentioning the word king) in this kingdom. Which his uncle Sir Thomas Steward, who left him all the little estate Cromwell had, told him was traiterous to relate. The first years of his manhood were spent in a dissolute course of life—but—when he was civiliz'd he joined himself to men of his own temper, who pretended

unto transports and revelations[a]."———The following extracts from some of Oliver's letters will, perhaps, better than any thing else illustrate this part of his character. "Truly noe poore creature hath more cause to putt forth himselfe in the cause of his God, then I. I have had plentiful wadges before hand; and I am sure I shall never earn the least mite. The Lord accept mee in his Sonn, and give me to walk in the light, and give us to walk in the light, as hee is in the light. He it is that inlighteneth our blacknesse, our darknesse. I dare not say, hee hideth his face from mee; hee giveth me to see light in his light; one beame in a darke place hath exceedinge much refreshment in it; blessed be his name for shininge upon soe darke a hart as mine[b]." This was written in 1638.———In a letter to the lord Wharton, dated Sept. 2, 1648, we have the following passages. "I beseech the Lord make us sensible of this great mercye heere [the victory over the Scots under duke Hamilton, I suppose] which surelye was much more then ***** the house expresseth. I trust ****** the goodnesse of our God, time and opportunitye to speak of itt with you face to face. When we think of our God, what are wee! oh! his mercye to the whole societye of saincts, despised, jeered saincts. Let them mocke onn. Would we were all saincts; the best of us are (God knows) poore weake saincts, yet saincts; if not sheepe, yet lambs, and must bee fed. We have daily bread and shall have itt, in despite of all enimies. There's enough in our fathers house, and he dispenseth itt as our eyes **** bekind, then wee can **** we for him. I thinke thorough these outward mercyes (as we call them) faith, patience, love, hope, all are exercised and perfected, yea Christ formed, and growes to a perfect man within us. I knowe not how well to distinguish: the difference is only in the subject: to a worldly man they are outward: to a sainct, christian: but I dispute not. My lord I rejoice in your perticular mercye. I hope that is soe to you; if soe it shall not hurt

[a] Warwick, p. 249. [b] Thurloe, vol. I. p. 1.

you, nor make you plott or shift for the younge baron to make him great. You will say he is Gods to dispose off, and guide for, and there you will leave him[a]."

In a letter to the governor of the castle of Edinburgh, dated Sept. 9, 1650, he thus writes: "We have said in our papers with what hearts and upon what accompt we came; [into Scotland] and the Lord hath heard us, though you would not, upon as solemn an appeal as any experience can parallel. And although they [the Scots] seem to comfort themselves with being the sons of Jacob, from whom (they say) God hath hid his face for a time; yet it's no wonder, when the Lord hath lift up his hand so eminently against a family, as he hath done so often against this [the Stuart] and men will not see his hand, if the Lord hide his face from such, putting them to shame, both for it and their hatred at his people, as it is this day. When they purely trust to the sword of the spirit, which is the word of God, which is powerful to bring down strong holds, and every imagination that exalts itself, which alone is able to square and fitt the stones for the new Jerusalem; then, and not before, and by that means, and no other, shall Jerusalem (which is to be the praise of the whole earth) the city of the Lord be built, the Sion of the holy one of Israel[b]." The governor in his reply telling Cromwell the Scots ministers said, "that they had not so learned Christ as to hang the equity of their cause upon events:" he reassumed his pen on the same subject, and writes as follows: "In answer to the witnesse of God upon our solemn appeal; you say, you have not so learned Christ, to hang the equity of your cause upon events. We could wish blindnesse hath not been upon your eyes to all those marvellous dispensations, which God hath wrought lately in England. But did not you solemnly appeal and pray? Did not we do so too? And ought not you and we to think with fear and trembling of the hand of the great God in this mighty and strange appearance of his? But can slightly call it an event.

[a] Thurloe, vol. I. p. 99. [b] Id. p. 159.

Were not both yours and our expectations renewed from time to time, whilst we waited upon God, to see which way he would manifest himself upon our appeals? And shall we after all these our prayers, fastings, tears, expectations, and solemne appeals, call these bare events? The Lord pity you. Surely we fear, because it hath been a merciful and gracious deliverance to us. I beseech you in the bowels of Christ, search after the mind of the Lord in it towards you, and we shall help you by our prayers, that you may find it out; for yet (if we know our hearts at all) our bowels do in Christ Jesus earn after the godly in Scotland[a]."——Bishop Burnet tells us, "that when Cromwell was in the greatest streights and perplexities, just before the battle at Dunbar, he called his officers to a day of seeking the Lord. He loved to talk much of that matter all his life long afterwards. He said he felt such an enlargement of heart in prayer, and such quiet upon it, that he bade all about him take heart, for God had certainly heard them, and would appear for them. After prayer they walked in the earl of Roxborough's gardens that lay under the hill; and by prospective glasses they discerned a great motion in the Scottish camp. Upon which Cromwell said, God is delivering them into our hands, they are coming down to us[b]". The event was comformable to his expectation.

Whitlock, who well knew the man, writes as follows: "From the council of state Cromwell and his son Ireton went home with me to supper, where they were very chearful, and seemed extremely well pleased; we discoursed together till twelve a-clock at night, and they told me wonderful observations of God's providence, in the affairs of the war, and in the business of the army's coming to London, and seizing the members of the house, in all which were ridiculous passages[c]."

These passages are, I think, abundantly sufficient to establish the enthusiasm of Cromwell. However, that the

[a] Thurloe, vol. I. p. 161. [b] Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. I. p. 82, 12mo. Dutch edit. See Cromwell's Letter to Lenthall, in note 35.

[c] Whitlock's Memorials, p. 584.

reader may determine the better, let him attend to the following anecdotes which seem to indicate him an hypocrite. "His rude cant and spiritual simplicity were downright affectation: than which nothing can be more evident from Mr. Waller's observation, and his confession to him. Mr. Waller often took notice, that in the midst of their discourse a servant has come in to tell them such and such attended; upon which Cromwell would rise, and stop them, talking at the door, where he could over-hear them say, The Lord will reveal, The Lord will help, and several such expressions; which when he return'd to Mr. Waller he excus'd, saying, Cousin Waller, I must talk to these men after their own way; and would then go on where they left off. This created in Mr. Waller an opinion that he secretly despised those whom he seemed to court[a]."

And the author of the Political History of the Age, thinks "the enthusiasm of Cromwell entirely assum'd and politic; quoting the following anecdote from Oliver St. John, in proof of it, viz. That being one day at table with his friends, and looking for the cork of a bottle of champaign which he had opened, on being informed, that some person attended for admittance to see him, Tell him, says Cromwell, we are in search of the holy spirit[b]."

These are the passages which seem to destroy the enthusiasm of Oliver; seem, I say, to destroy it—for allowing their truth, in my opinion, they do not in reality do it.—For what do they prove, but that Cromwell sometimes talked inconsistently with his principles? or being at times less under their power, he indulged himself in jesting and raillery, to which he was naturally prone? If two or three casual expressions are to determine a man's character in opposition to his whole speech and behaviour, woe be to those who think themselves virtuous and good. Whoever will consider the times in which Oliver lived; the part he bore in the transactions of them; his real principles with respect to returns of prayer; and his opinion expressed

[a] Waller's Life, p. 60.

[b] Monthly Review, for Aug. 1757.

in his last moments, will not be long at a loss to determine about his real enthusiasm.

1. The times in which Oliver lived were times of reformation. Now "a reformation is seldom carried on without a heat and a vehemence which borders upon enthusiasm; and as Cicero hath observed that there never was a great man *sine afflatu divino*, so in times of religious contests, there seldom was a man very zealous for liberty civil and evangelical, and a declared and active enemy to insolent tyranny, blind superstition, political godliness, bigotry and pious frauds, who had not a fervency of zeal which led him on some occasions somewhat beyond the sober bounds of temperate reason. When men are thus dispos'd, and have animated each other, and are inflam'd by opposition, persecution, and ill usage, they are strongly inclin'd to suspect a divine interposition, and to explain every strange appearance that way. The impetuosity spreads far and wide, and seizes even upon children [a]."

Another ingenious writer speaking concerning these times, observes, "That in the high ferment of national spirit, not only did the animosities usual amidst the flames of civil war, spread violently, on both sides; but that which was peculiar to the complexion and temper of the people of that age; extravagant conceits of a religious kind, operated in the most forcible manner imaginable. The crude mixture of religious and political opinions which is commonly found among the bulk of the people, being then shook to the very bottom; it was no wonder, that, together with the most shining instances of military skill and bravery, of penetrating sagacity and judgment in the management of particular conjunctures and events, of boldness, vigilance, and address in planning and executing the most dangerous enterprizes; there may also be discerned many evidences of a wild and enthusiastic genius affecting the manners and actions of the popular leaders [b]."

[a] Jortin's Remarks on Ecclesiastical History, vol. II. p. 370. [b] National Spirit considered, as a natural Source of Political Liberty, p. 40. 8vo. Lond. 1758. 2d. edit.

2. Not only the times in which Oliver lived, but the characters he bore, and the great and surprising actions he performed, will lead us very naturally to suppose that he might really think himself under the divine guidance. The age of Cromwell was an age of wonders. The king and his nobles were brought low; the poor and the mean were exalted; the foolish things of the world confounded the wise, and the weak things of the world confounded the things which were mighty; and base things of the world, and things which were despised, yea things that were not, comparatively, brought to nought things that were. No wonder things so marvellous, were deemed by him and others to be the Lord's doings in a peculiar manner, since they were so much out of the usual course. And as to himself, in particular, from small beginnings he had rose to such heights of power and reputation, and done such very extraordinary things, that it must have been very difficult for a man of his constitution, to have forborne thinking that he was personally favoured by heaven in his undertakings. "A magistrate convinc'd of the being of a God and a Providence, and conscious that every purpose of his heart intends the honour of that God and the good of the people he governs, cannot help believing himself under the special care of the Deity. This flows from the very reason and nature of things, and can never be otherwise: God, as surely as he exists, must necessarily favour such a man, and every such man must as necessarily be convinc'd that God does so favour him.——And such a perswasion will always have more or less influence on the mind, as it falls in with a constitution more or less inclin'd to superstition or enthusiasm, which is apt to impute every laudable thought, and every successful action to the special suggestion and assistance of heaven[a]."

3. Cromwell's real opinion concerning returns of prayer will clearly shew his enthusiasm. What follows may, I believe, be depended on. "I had heard from several (and

[a] Middleton's Tracts, p. 200. 4to. Lond. 1752.

it had been confirm'd to me by Mr. Jeremy White, who liv'd at Whitehall at the very same time with Mr. Howe) that the notion of a particular faith in prayer, prevail'd much in Cromwell's court; and that it was a common opinion among them, that such as were in a special manner favour'd of God, when they offer'd up prayers and supplications to him for his mercies, either for themselves or others, often had such impressions made on their minds and spirits by a divine hand, as signify'd to them, not only in the general, that their prayers would be heard, and graciously answered, but that the particular mercies that were sought for, would be certainly bestowed; nay, and sometimes also intimated to them in what way and manner they would be afforded; and pointed out to them future events before hand, which in reality is the same as inspiration. Having heard of mischief done by the prevalence of this notion, I took the opportunity that offered, when there was nothing to hinder the utmost freedom, to enquire of Mr. Howe, what he had known about this matter, and what were his apprehensions concerning it? He told me the prevalence of the notion that I mentioned at Whitehall, at the time when he lived there, was too notorious to be called in question; and that not a little pains was taken to cultivate and support it; and that he once heard a sermon there, (from a person of note) the avow'd design of which was to maintain and defend it. He said he was so fully convinced of the ill tendency of such a principle, that after the hearing this sermon, he thought himself bound in conscience, when it came next to his turn to preach before Cromwell, to set himself industriously to oppose it, and to beat down that spiritual pride and confidence, which such fancied impulses and impressions were apt to produce and cherish. He told me, he observed that while he was in the pulpit, Cromwell heard him with great attention, but would sometimes knit his brows, and discover great uneasiness. When the sermon was over, he told me a person of distinction came to him, and ask'd him if he knew what he had done? and signifyed it to him as his apprehension, that Cromwell

This, however, spoiled not his good nature, nor rendered him sour, morose, or severe.

would be so incens'd upon that discourse, that he would find it very difficult ever to make his peace with him, or secure his favour for the future. Mr. Howe replyed, that he had but discharged his conscience, and could leave the event with God. He told me he afterwards observed, Cromwell was cooler in his carriage to him than before; and sometimes he thought he would have spoken to him of the matter, but he never did, and rather chose to forbear[a]."

4. His discourse in his last sickness to his wife, plainly manifests the enthusiasm of his temper. Take it as related by his physician Bates. "Sed nec animo solum ægrotat; [he had been just speaking of his domestic vexations] febre siquidem brevi post laticâ & lentâ corripitur, quæ tandem spuriam in tertianam degeneravit. Provecto per septimanam morbo, absque ullis periculi indiciis, (utpote nunc istam mali speciem, nunc aliam præ se ferente;) ut ne prohiberet secundo die ab ambulando foràs. Post prandium autem accedentibus ad eum quinque quos habebat medicis, quidam ex tactu pulsum intermisisse pronunciat: quo audito ille subito consternatus ore pallet, sudatiunculas patitur, & ferè deliquium, jubétque se ad lectulum deportari; atque ibi cardiàcis refocillatus, supremum condidit testamentum, sed de rebus privatis & domesticis. Manè summo, cùm unus è cæteris visitatum veniret, percontatur, quare vultus ei adeo tristis. Cùmque responderet, ità oportere, si cui vitæ ac salutis ejus pondus incumberet; Vos (inquit) medici me creditis intermoriturum: dein cæteris amotis (uxorem manu complectens) ita hunc affatur, Tibi pronuncio, non esse mihi hoc morbo moriendum; hujus enim certus sum. Et quia intentiori aspectantem oculo ad ista verba cerneret, Tu me (inquit) nè credas insanire; verba veritatis

[a] Calamy's Life of Howe, p. 21, 8vo. Lond. 1724.

On the contrary, from most indisputable authorities, we are assured, that he was courteous

eloquor, certioribus innixus quàm vobis Galenus aut Hippocrates vester suppeditat rationibus. Deus ipse hoc responsum precibus dedit non meis unius, verùm & eorum quibus arctius cum illo commercium & major familiaritas. Pergite alacres, excussâ penitùs à vultu tristitiâ, méque instar servuli tractate. Pollere vobis licet prudentia rerum; plus tamen valet natura quàm medici simul omnes; Deus autem naturam longiori superat intervallo[a]."——i. e. "But all his distemper was not in his mind alone; for shortly after he was taken with a slow fever, that at length degenerated into a bastard tertian ague. For a week's time the disease so continued without any dangerous symptoms, (as appearing sometimes one, and sometimes another kind of distemper) that every other day he walked abroad: but after dinner his five physicians coming to wait upon him, one of them having felt his pulse, said that it intermitted: at which suddenly startled, he looked pale, fell into a cold sweat, almost fainted away, and orders himself to be carried to bed, where being refreshed with cordials, he made his will, but only about his private and domestic affairs. Next morning early, when one of his physicians came to visit him, he asked him why he look'd so sad? and when he made answer, that so it becomes any one, who had the weighty care of his life and health upon him: Ye physicians, said he, think I shall die. Then the company being removed, holding his wife by the hand, to this purpose he spoke to him, I tell you I shall not die of this disorder,—I am sure of it. And because he observed him to look more attentively upon him at these words, Don't think, said he, that I am mad; I speak the words of truth, upon surer grounds than your Galen or Hippocrates furnish you with. God Almighty himself hath given that answer, not to my

[a] Bates's Elenchi pars 2da, p. 215.

and obliging, affable[7] and condescending, and

prayers alone, but also to the prayers of those who entertain a stricter commerce, and greater intimacy with him. Go on chearfully, banishing all sadness from your looks, and deal with me as you would with a serving-man. Ye may have skill in the nature of things, yet nature can do more than all physicians put together; and God is far more above nature."

Burnet confirms this account of the assurance of the divines concerning Cromwell's recovery[a]. I will rest the evidence of the enthusiasm of Oliver here (though many more proofs can be brought of it) not doubting but it will appear strong and convincing; and account, in some degree, for those actions and expressions which we shall meet with in the following sheets: account in some degree, I say; for whoever thinks him wholly under the power of this principle, will be greatly mistaken. Cromwell ranks in this respect with Mahomet, and Aurengzebe, who were great masters of themselves, though, by nature, strongly tinctured with enthusiasm.

[7] He was courteous and affable, and inclined to buffoonery.] Here are the authorities. Sir Philip Warwick does honour to this part of his character in the following paragraph. "In his conversation towards me he was ever friendly; tho' at the latter end of the day finding me ever incorrigible, and having some inducements to suspect me a tamperer, he was sufficiently rigid[b]." Whitlock, even under a sense of an injury done him by Cromwell, owns he was "goodnatured[c]." His affability and condescension will appear also from the same writer. "As they [Cromwell and Ireton] went home from my house, their coach was stopped and they examined by the guards, to whom they told their names; but the captain of the guards would not believe them, and threatned to carry these two great

[a] History of his own Times, vol. I. p. 130. [b] Warwick's Memoirs, p. 247.
[c] Whitlock's Memorials, p. 627.

even strongly, at times, inclined to practise some little arts of buffoonery.

officers to the court of guard. Ireton grew a little angry, but Cromwell was chearful with the soldiers, gave them twenty shillings, and commended them and their captain for doing their duty[a]." In another place he writes as follows: "The Protector often advis'd about this [The petition and advice] and other great businesses with the lord Broghill, Pierpoint, myself, Sir Charles Wolsely and Thurloe, and would be shut up three or four hours together in private discourse, and none were admitted to come in to him; he would sometimes be very chearful with us, and laying aside his greatness he would be exceeding familiar with us, and by way of diversion, would make verses with us, and every one must try his fancy; he commonly call'd for tobacco, pipes, and a candle, and would now and then take tobacco himself; then he would fall again to his serious and great business, and advise with us in those affairs; and this he did often with us, and our counsel was accepted and followed by him, in most of his greatest affairs[b]." These passages, simply and artlessly told, strongly indicate the chearfulness and pleasantry of Cromwell, and shew how well qualified he was to conciliate the affection and regard of those whom he thought it worth his while to court[c].

Let us now proceed to the buffoonery which is mentioned in the text. "Mr. Waller lived mostly at Beaconsfield, where his mother dwelt in her widowhood, and often entertained Oliver Cromwell there, during his usurpation, he being related to her. But notwithstanding her relation to the usurper, and Colonel Hampden, she was a royalist in her principles; and when Oliver visited her at Beaconsfield, she would frankly tell him how his pretensions would end. The usurper us'd merrily to throw a napkin at her in return, and said he would not enter into further disputes with his

[a] Whitlock's Memorials, p. 384. [b] Id. p. 656. [c] See note 63.

But on necessary occasions he kept state to

aunt; for so he us'd to call her, though not quite so nearly related[a]." Mr. Cowley speaks of "his flinging of cushions, and playing at snowballs with his servants[b]."——And Mr. Ludlow relates "that Cromwell contriv'd a conference to be held in Kingstreet, between those call'd the grandees of the house and army, and the commonwealths-men, in which the grandees, of whom lieutenant-general Cromwell was the head, kept themselves in the clouds, and would not declare their judgments either for a monarchical, aristocratical, or democratical government; maintaining that any of them might be good in themselves, or for us, according as Providence should direct us. The commonwealths-men declared that monarchy was neither good in itself, nor for us.—— Notwithstanding what was said, Cromwell—profess'd himself unresolved, and having learn'd what he could of the principles and inclinations of those present at the conference, took up a cushion and flung it at my head, and then ran down the stairs; but I overtook him with another, which made him hasten down faster than he desired[c]." This fact occurred to Mr. Hume, but he could not relate it as it was.— Hear his words. "After debates," says he, "on this subject [government] the most important which could fall under the discussion of human creatures, Ludlow tells us, that Cromwell, by way of frolic, threw a cushion at his head; and when Ludlow took up another cushion, in order to return the compliment, the general ran down stairs, and had almost broke his bones in the hurry[d]."——But to proceed. At the signing of the warrant for the king's execution, we are told "that Cromwell with his pen mark'd Harry Marten in the face; and Marten did the like to him[e];" and also, "that whilst Hugh Peters was shewing the lawfulness of

[a] Waller's Life, p. 4. [b] Cowley's Discourse concerning the Government of Oliver Cromwell, p. 95. [c] Ludlow's Memoirs, vol. I. p. 240. 8vo. Switzerland, 1698. [d] Hume's History of Great Britain, vol. II. p. 74. [e] Exact and impartial Account of the Trial of the Regicides, p. 247. 4to. Lond. 1660.

the full[a]; appeared with the pomp and magni-

the said execution, and, in his way, exciting them to it from the pulpit, he laughed[a]." I will add but one passage more. "Minores ductores congiariis frequentius devincire, nonnunquam in media cibatione, fame nondum pacatâ gregarios milites pulsatis tympanis intromittere ut semesas raptarent reliquias. Robustos ac vere militares nocivis & validis exercitiis tractare, veluti prunâ candente nonnunquam ocreis injectâ, vel culcitris hinc indè in capita vibratis. Semel autem præludiis hujusmodi probe làssos & risu laxatos præfectos ad cordis apertionem provocavit; eoque modo ab incautis elicuit arcana quædam, quæ perpetuis tenebris optabant postmodùm involuta; dum ipse, sententias omnium scrutatus, celaret suam[b]." i. e. "He would often make feasts for the inferiour officers, and whilst they were feeding, before they had satisfied their hunger, cause the drums to beat and let in the private soldiers to fall on, and snatch away the half-eaten dishes. The robust and sturdy soldiers he loved to divert with violent and hazardous exercises; as by making them sometimes throw a burning coal into one anothers boots, or cushions at one anothers heads. When the officers had sufficiently laugh'd, and tired themselves with these preludes, he would wheedle them to open their hearts freely; and by that means he drew some secrets from the unwary, which afterwards they wished might have been wrapp'd up in everlasting darkness; whilst he, in the mean time, pumping the opinion of all others, concealed his own." Thus even diversions were made subservient to his policy!

[a] He kept state to the full, and appeared on proper occasi ns with pomp and magnificence.] Cromwell was one of those geniuses who are ofttimes buried in obscurity, through want of occasion of being known. Thousands spend their lives in retirement who are capable of greater things than

[a] Exact and impartial Account of the Trial of the Regicides, p. 168. 4to. Lond. 1660. [b] Bates's Elenchi, pars 2da. p. 179.

ficence becoming the head of a rich and

most of those whose names are tossed from every tongue, and voiced for wise, skilful, able, or valiant. In times of peace these men are little noticed or known; but they are overlooked among the herd, or treated with a coolness or disregard which damps their ambition, and establishes their virtue. But when civil commotions arise, when the struggle is for liberty or enslavement, "then a free and active spirit is rais'd which overspreads the country; every man finds himself, on such occasions, his own master, and that he may be, whatever he can make himself: he knows not how high he may rise, and is unaw'd by laws, which are then of no force: he finds his own weight, tries his own strength, and, if there is any hidden worth, or curbed mettle in him, certainly shews and gives it vent. Accordingly we see, that the genius's produced at these times, give great proof of reach and capacity, especially in politic managements and civil affairs in the largest sense[a]." Cromwell verified these observations. I will give Warwick's account at large as a proof of it, especially as it will afford pleasure to such of my readers as delight in anecdotes, as, I believe, most do. "The first time I ever took notice of him [Oliver] was in the very beginning of the parliament held in Nov. 1640, when I vainly thought myself a courtly young gentleman: (For we courtiers valued ourselves much upon our good cloaths.) I came into the house one morning well clad, and perceived a gentleman speaking (whom I knew not) very ordinarily apparelled; for it was a plain cloth suit; which seemed to have been made by an ill country taylor; his linen was plain, and not very clean; and I remember a speck or two of blood upon his little band, which was not much larger than his collar; his hat was without a hatband: his stature was of a good size, his sword stuck close to his side, his countenance swoln and reddish, his voice sharp and untuneable, and his eloquence full of fervour; for the

[a] Enquiry into the Life and Writings of Homer.

powerful people, and behaved suitably to the

subject matter would not bear much of reason; it being in behalf of a servant of Mr. Prynne's, who had disperst libels against the queen for her dancing, and such like innocent and courtly sports; and he aggravated the imprisonment of this man by the council table unto that height, that one would have believ'd, the very government itself had been in great danger by it. I sincerely profess it lessened much my reverence unto that great council, for he was very much hearkened unto. And yet I liv'd to see this very gentleman, whom out of no ill will to him I thus describe, by multiplied good successes, and by real (but usurpt) power; (having had a better taylor, and more converse among good company) in my own eye, when for six weeks together I was a prisoner in his serjeant's hands, and daily waited at Whitehall, appear of a great and majestick deportment and comely presence [a]."

Lord Clarendon, in the account lately published of his own life, gives us a representation of Oliver's behaviour in a committee, very little to his advantage. Here are his words: "Mr. Hyde was often heard to mention one private committee, in which he was put accidentally into the chair, upon an inclosure which had been made of great wastes belonging to the queen's manors, without the consent of the tenants, the benefit whereof had been given by the queen to a servant of near trust; who forthwith sold the lands inclosed to the earl of Manchester, lord privy seal; who, together with his son Mandevil, were now most concerned to maintain the inclosure; against which, as well the inhabitants of other manors, who claimed common in those wastes, as the queen's tenants of the same, made loud complaints, as a great oppression, carried upon them with a very high hand, and supported by power. The committee sat in the queen's court; and Oliver Cromwell being one of them, appeared much concerned to countenance the petitioners,

[a] Warwick's Memoirs, p. 247.

high rank in which he had placed himself.

who were numerous, together with their witnesses; the lord Mandevil being likewise present as a party, and by the direction of the committee, sitting covered. Cromwell (who had never before been heard to speak in the house of commons) ordered the witnesses and petitioners in the method of the proceeding; and seconded, and enlarged upon what they said with great passion; and the witnesses, and persons concerned, who were a very rude kind of people, interrupted the council, and witnesses on the other side, with great clamour when they said any thing that did not please them; so that Mr. Hyde (whose office it was to oblige men of all sorts to keep order) was compelled to use some sharp reproofs, and some threats, to reduce them to such a temper, that the business might be quietly heard. Cromwell in great fury reproached the chairman for being partial, and that he discountenanced the witnesses by threatening them; the other appealed to the committee, who justified him, and declared that he behaved as he ought to do; which more inflamed him, who was already too much angry. When upon any mention of matter of fact, or the proceeding before, and at the inclosure, the lord Mandevil desired to be heard, and with great modesty related what had been done, or explained what had been said, Mr. Cromwell did answer, and reply upon him, with so much indecency, and rudeness, and in language, so contrary, and offensive, that every man would have thought, that as their natures and their manners were as opposite as it is possible, so their interest could never have been the same. In the end his whole carriage was so tempestuous, and his behaviour so insolent, that the chairman found himself obliged to reprehend him; and to tell him, if he proceeded in the same manner, he would presently adjourn the committee, and the next morning complain to the house of him, which he never forgave; and took all occasions afterwards to pursue him with the utmost malice and revenge, to his death [a]."

[a] Life of Lord Clarendon, vol. I. p. 78. 8vo. Oxford, 1759.

Elocution was not his talent. His public

If one were to judge by this, Cromwell's manners were as rude as his dress uncourtly. But however, this same writer in another place confesses the alteration which was visible in him after he rose to dignity and power. "As he grew into place and authority," says he, "his parts seemed to be raised, as if he had concealed his faculties, till he had occasion to use them; and when he was to act the part of a great man, he did it without any indecency, notwithstanding the want of custom[a]."

Whitlock has described him two or three times in his public appearances: an account of these will explain what I mean by his keeping state to the full. His inauguration was magnificent. On the 26th of June, 1657, "a place being prepared at the upper end of Westminster-hall, in the midst of it was a rich cloth of state set up, and under it a chair of state upon an ascent of two degrees, cover'd with carpets; before it a table and a chair by it for the speaker; on each side of the hall were seats built one above another, and cover'd for the members of the parliament; below them seats on the one side for the judges, and on the other side for the lord mayor and aldermen of London. About two of the clock in the afternoon the Protector met the parliament, and gave his consent to some bills; then the speaker and members went to their places in Westminster-hall, and the judges and aldermen took their places: a little time after this his Highness came attended with his own gentlemen, and with the heralds serjeants at arms: the officers, commissioners of the seal, and of the treasury, and his council: the earl of Warwick carried the sword before him, and the Lord Mayor of London carried the city sword.

"His Highness standing under the cloth of state, the speaker in the name of the parliament presented to him,

"1. A robe of purple velvet, lined with ermin, which the speaker, assisted by me and others, put upon his High-

[a] Clarendon's Hist. of the Rebellion, vol. VI. p. 649.

ness; then he delivered to him the bible richly gilt and bossed; after that the speaker girt the sword about his highness, and delivered into his hands the scepter of massy gold, and then made a speech to him upon those several things presented to him, wishing him all prosperity in his government, and gave him the oath; and Mr. Manton[a] by prayer recommended his highness, the parliament, the council, the forces by land and sea, and the whole government, and people of the three nations, to the blessing and protection of God. After this the people gave several shouts, and the trumpets sounding: the Protector sat in the chair of state, holding the scepter in his hand; on his right side sat the ambassador of France, on the left side the ambassador of the United Provinces. Near to his highness stood his son Richard, the lord deputy Fleetwood, Claypole, master of the horse, his highnesses council and officers of state; the earl of Warwick held the sword on the right side of the chair, and the lord mayor of London held the city sword on the left hand of the chair; near the earl of Warwick stood the lord viscount Lisle, general Mountague, and I, each of us having a drawn sword in our hands. Then the trumpets sounded, and an herald proclaimed his highnesses title; and proclamation was made, and loud acclamations of the people, God save the Lord Protector. The ceremonies being ended, his highness having his train carried by the lord Sherwood, Mr. Rich, the earl of Warwick's grandchild, and by the lord Roberts's son, accompanied by the ambassadors, and attended as before, went in state to Westminster-hall gate, where he took his rich coach. In the upper end of it himself sat in his robes, in the other end sat the earl of Warwick, in one boot sat his son Richard, and I with a drawn sword in my hand; and in the other boot sat the lord viscount Lisle, and general Mountague, with swords drawn in their hands; Claypole led the horse of honour in rich caparisons, the life guard and other guards attended the coach, the officers

[a] See note 2.

and the rest following in coaches to Whitehall[a]."——Cromwell's reception of the Swedish ambassador will give us still a clearer idea of his capacity for acting in the pompous scenes of life. Take it from the author just cited. "His [the ambassador's] people went all bare, two and two before him in order, according to their qualities; the best men last; and next to him, the master of the ceremonies next; before him, I on his right hand and Strickland on his left hand; they made a handsome shew in this equipage, and so went up to the council-chamber, where the ambassador repos'd himself, about a quarter of an hour, and then word being brought that the protector was ready in the Banquetting-house, he came down into the court again, and in the same order they went up into the Banquetting-house. Whitehall court was full of soldiers in good order, the stairs and doors were kept by the protector's guards in their livery coats, with halberts, the rooms and passages in very handsome order; the Banquetting-house was richly hung with arras, multitudes of gentlemen in it, and of ladies in the galleries. The ambassador's people were all admitted into the room, and made a lane within the rails in the midst of the room. At the upper end, upon a foot-pace and carpet, stood the protector with a chair of state behind him, and divers of his council and servants about him. The master of the ceremonies went before the ambassador on the left side; the ambassador in the middle, betwixt me and Strickland, went up in the open lane of the room; as soon as they came within the room, at the lower end of the lane, they put off their hats: the ambassador a little while after the rest, and when he was uncovered, the protector also put off his hat, and answered the ambassador's three salutations in his coming up to him, and on the foot-pace they saluted each other as usually friends do: and when the protector put on his hat, the ambassador put on his as soon as the other. After a little pause, the ambassador put off his hat, and began to speak, and then

[a] Whitlock's Memorials, p. 662.

speeches in general are longwinded, obscure,

put it on again; and whensoever in his speech he named the king his master, or Sweden, or the protector, or England, he moved his hat, especially if he mentioned any thing of God, or the good of Christendom, he put off his hat very low; and the protector still answered him in the like postures of civility. The ambassador spoke in the Swedish language, and after he had done, being but short, his secretary did interpret it in Latin.——After his interpreter had done, the protector stood still a pretty while, and putting off his hat to the ambassador, with a carriage full of gravity and state, he answered him in English[a]."—— Though the ceremonials on these public occasions are, I apprehend, ordered and appointed by the proper officers, yet the man who (having spent forty years of his life in a manner almost wholly in obscurity and remote from courts, as Oliver had done) could act his part so gracefully in them, must have had a genius of a peculiar turn, and greatly superior to the common class of men.—Mr. Waller seems therefore to have had reason for his compliment to him in the following verses:

"Oft have we wonder'd, how you hid in peace
A mind proportion'd to such things as these;
How such a ruling sp'rit you cou'd restrain,
And practise first over yourself to reign.
Your private life did a just pattern give
How fathers, husbands, pious sons shou'd live;
Born to command, your princely virtues slept
Like humble David's while the flock he kept."

I cannot close this note without observing the propriety of the Swedish ambassador's making use of his native tongue in his public audience, and the protector's replying in his own language. It shews the value they each set on their respective countries, and their dislike of putting such a slight on them as to imagine their idiom unpolite or indeterminate. It would not have been amiss if the example had been followed.

[a] Whitlock's Memorials, p. 623.

flat[9] and ambiguous: but whether this was not

[9] Elocution was not his talent, &c.] Cromwell's want of eloquence has been observed by many writers. "All virtues," says Mr. Cowley, "being rightly divided into moral and intellectual, I know not how we can better judge of the former than by mens actions, or of the latter than by their writings or speeches. And for these latter (which are least in merit, or rather which are only the instruments of mischief where the other are wanting) I think you can hardly pick out the name of a man who ever was called great, besides him we are now speaking of, who never left the memory behind him of one wise or witty apothegm even among his domestic servants or greatest flatterers. That little in print which remains upon a sad record for him, is such, as a satyr against him would not have made him say, for fear of transgressing too much the rules of probability[a]."

Mr. Hume says that "he was incapable of expressing himself on this occasion [the crown's being offered him] but in a manner which a peasant of the most ordinary capacity, would justly be ashamed of." And after quoting a passage from the conference at Whitehall to support this assertion, he observes that "the great defect in Oliver's speeches consists not in his want of elocution, but in his want of ideas. The sagacity of his actions and the absurdity of his discourse, forms the most prodigious contrast that ever was known. The collection of all his speeches, letters, sermons, (for he also wrote sermons) would make a great curiosity, and with a few exceptions might justly pass for one of the most nonsensical books in the world[b]." This gentleman's great defects are want of consistency with himself, and regard to truth. In the passage here quoted he assures us that "the great defect in Oliver's speeches consists not in his want of elocution, but in his want of

[a] Discourse concerning Oliver Cromwell, p. 87. Printed among his Works in 12mo, Lond. 1661. [b] Hume's History, vol. II. p. 79, 80.

partly out of design, may be a question, seeing he could speak and write well on some occasions.

ideas:" a few pages after he observes that Cromwell "was not defective in any talent, except that of elocution[a]." That he wrote sermons is a discovery of Mr. Hume's own; I believe no writer worth naming ever before said it; it is quite unsuitable to his character, and the times.

I have said in the text that his speeches, in general, are longwinded, obscure, flat, and ambiguous: this will appear to any who will be at the trouble to read his speech at the dissolution of his first parliament, and his speeches at the conference at Whitehall, of which I shall have occasion hereafter to give extracts. The reason of these defects seem to be sometimes the enthusiasm of his temper, which produced a kind of expression savouring of cant; other times his being necessitated to find excuses for refusing what he was desirous of; and most times a willingness to hide his real intentions. To which, probably, may be added his having been little used to speak in public assemblies, on public occasions, before he seized the supreme power.—But design I am persuaded had the greatest share in producing some of his oddest compositions. I have seen, and shall in the following sheets produce copies of original letters written by him, which shew that he knew well how to express himself; his letters to the governor of Edinburgh castle before mentioned are a farther proof of it; and the following speech made off hand to the Swedish ambassador confirms it.

"My lord ambassador, I have great reason to acknowledge with thankfulness, the respects and good affection of the king your master towards this commonwealth, and towards myself in particular, whereof I shall always retain a very grateful memory, and shall be ready upon all occasions to manifest the high sense and value I have of his majesty's friendship and alliance. My Lord, you are very

[a] Hume's History, vol. II. p. 90.

Bigotry [10] made no part of Cromwell's character. Like an honest man, he professed his

welcome into England, and during your abode here, you shall find all due regard and respect to be given to your person, and to the business about which you come. I am very willing to enter into a nearer and more strict alliance and friendship with the king of Swedland, as that which in my judgment will tend much to the honor and commodity of both nations, and to the general advantage of the protestant interest; I shall nominate some persons to meet and treat with your lordship upon such particulars as you shall communicate to them[a]." Perhaps a better turned answer than this is not to be found in England in Cromwell's age! —it shews what he could do: though he seldom equalled it.

[10] Bigotry made no part of Cromwell's character.] Bigotry ill becomes a great man, if a truly great man is capable of it. In a politician it is a defect, in a sovereign a fault of the first magnitude. Woe be to that country whose princes and ministers are tinctured with it. There ecclesiastics reign —and the rule of ecclesiastics has been always severe and tyrannical. Bigotry produced the massacres of Paris and Ireland; repealed the edict of Nantz; annulled the privileges of the Moriscoes in Spain; drove the nonconformists out of England; and deprived Philip the Second of the United Provinces. These were the effects of this fiend, black as the infernal pit where it first was produced, and mischievous as Satan its parent. May all princes have it in abhorrence! may they keep its favourers and abettors far from their councils! vain else will be their endeavours for the public, vain their hopes of perpetuating their fame. No prince, it is well known, was ever well counselled by priests. They have themselves too much in view; their own order too much at heart——They cannot sacrifice these though inconsistent with the welfare of the community, nor can they forbear preferring them to the most useful members of it.

[a] Whitlock, p. 628. See also note 21.

own sentiments, and adhered to the sect he

But the bigot is the tool of the priest. He must be so—from him therefore is to be expected nothing truly generous. We know what cardinal Granvall did in Spain; what Laud in England; but they had never been in a capacity of executing their mad and destructive schemes, had they had masters less bigotted. But Cromwell had a mind superior, he was above the sway of these kind of men; there was nothing in him for them to work on, they therefore either never attacked him, or desisted. This will appear from his judgment concerning the nature of the ministerial function, and the bounds within which it ought to be confined; his fixt opinion concerning liberty of conscience in matters of religion; and his behaviour towards men of the most different and opposite principles.

1. Cromwell's open and avowed judgment concerning the nature and bounds of the ministerial function, clearly leads us to conclude that he was free from bigotry. In his letter to the governor of Edinburgh Castle, dated Sept. 9, 1650, he says, "The ministers in England are supported, and have liberty to preach the Gospel, though not to raile, nor under pretence thereof to overtop the civil power, or debase it as they please. No man hath been troubled in England or Ireland for preaching the Gospel, nor has any minister been molested in Scotland since the coming of the army hither. The speaking truth becomes the ministers of Christ. When ministers pretend to a glorious reformation, and lay the foundation thereof in getting to themselves worldly power, and can make worldly mixtures to accomplish the same, such as their late agreement with their king, and hopes by him to carry on their design, may know, that the Sion promised and hoped for, will not be built with such untempered mortar[a]."

In reply to the Scottish ministers saying, "they had just cause to regret, that men of civil employments should

[a] Thurloe, vol. I. p. 159.

most approved;—but he spoke at all times

usurp the calling and employment of the ministry:" he asks, "Are you troubled that Christ is preached? Is preaching so inclusive in your function? Doth it scandalize the reformed kirks, and Scotland in particular? Is it against the covenant? Away with the covenant if this be so. I thought the covenant and these could have been willing, that any should speak good of the name of Christ; if not, it is no covenant of God's approving, nor of the kirk's you mention, in so much the spouse of Christ. Where do you find in Scripture a ground to warrant such an assertion, that preaching is included in your function? Tho' an approbation from men hath order in it, and may doe weil, yet he that hath not a better warrant than that, hath none at all. I hope he that ascended up on high may give his gifts to whom he please; and if those gifts be the seal of mission, be not envious, though Eldad and Medad prophesie.—— Indeed you erre through the mistake of the Scriptures; approbation is an act of conveniency in respect of order, not of necessity to give faculty to preach the Gospel. Your pretended fear, least error should step in, is like the man, that would keep all the wine out of the country, least men should be drunk. It would be found an unjust and unwise jealousie, to deny a man the liberty, he hath by nature, upon a supposition he may abuse it: when he doth abuse it, judge. If a man speak foolishly, ye suffer him gladly, because ye are wise; if erroneously, the truth more appears by your conviction; stop such a man's mouth with sound words, that cannot be gainsaid: if blasphemously, or to the disturbance of the publick peace, let the civill magistrate punish him: if truly, rejoice in the truth. And if you will call our speakings together, since we came into Scotland, to provoke one another to love and good works, to faith in our Lord Jesus Christ, and repentance from dead works, to charity and love towards you, to pray and mourne for you, and for the bitter returns to, and incredulity of our professions of love to you, of the truth of which we have made our

with honour of those who differed from him,

solemne and humble appeals to the Lord our God, which he hath heard and born witness to; if these things be scandalous to the kirk, and against the covenant, because done by men of civill callings, we rejoice in them, notwithstanding what you say[a]."——These are sentiments which, however tinctured with enthusiasm, declare a mind free from bigotry, and incapable of being deluded by the cant of heavenly mission, uninterrupted succession, indelible character, and the power of binding and loosing men's sins! Oliver had a sufficient preservative in his own understanding against the principles and practices of these men who make use of such magical terms.

2. Cromwell's fixt opinion concerning liberty of conscience in matters of religion, evinces his freedom from bigotry. No bigot has had sense enough to see the plain and just right which every man has to think and act for himself in matters purely of a religious nature; or to be convinced that unless men freely and voluntarily choose their religion, they can have no merit in the eyes of God or reasonable men; and consequently that they ought never to be debarred from acting according to their own choice. The bigot is always in the right; every man of a different belief is in the wrong; heaven is his own portion, but hell and damnation attend those who think and act opposite to him.——Oliver was not of this cast. He always professed it to be his belief that men had a right to think and act for themselves in matters of religion, and that as long as they behaved peaceably they were free to dissent from the magistrate and the priest. Mr. Ludlow tells us, "the liberty that was to be extended to tender consciences, was an engine by which Cromwell did most of his work[b]." And Mr. Baxter says, "Liberty of conscience he pretended to be most zealous for[c]." What follows will I think plainly make it appear that he was indeed so.

[a] Thurloe, vol. I. p. 161. [b] Memoirs, vol. II. p. 509. [c] Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, by Silvester, part II. p. 205, folio. Lond. 1696.

treated them with much respect and decency,

Milton, in the following beautiful sonnet, which I believe every lover of virtue and the Muses will read here with pleasure, addresses himself to him as the patron of this most glorious cause.

Cromwell, our chief of men, who through a cloud
Not of war only, [illegible] actions rude,
Guided by faith and [illegible] less fortitude,
To peace and truth thy glorious way hast plough'd,
And on the neck of crowned fortune proud
Hast rear'd God's trophies, and his work pursued,
While Darwen stream with blood of Scots imbrued,
And Dunbar field resounds thy praises loud.
And Worcester's laureat wreath. Yet much remains
To conquer still; peace hath her victories
No less renown'd than war: new foes arise
Threat'ning to bind our souls with secular chains:
Help us to save free conscience from the paw
Of hireling wolves, whose gospel is their maw.

Cromwell's own sentiments concerning this matter will be best known from the following paragraphs in his speech at the dissolution of the parliament in 1654. He is rebuking them for their conduct, and among other things, says, "When you were entered upon this government raveling into it, if you had gone upon that foot of account, to have made such good and wholsome provisions for the good of the people of these nations, for the settling of such matters in things of religion as would have upheld and given countenance to a godly ministry, and yet would have given a just liberty to godly men of different judgments, men of the same faith with them, that you call the orthodox ministry in England, as it is well known the independants are, and many under the form of baptism, who are sound in the faith, only may perhaps be different in judgment in some lesser matters, yet as true Christians both looking at salvation, only by faith in the blood of Christ, men professing the fear of God, and having recourse to the name of God as to a strong tower; I say you might have had opportunity to have settled peace and quietness amongst all professing

and openly declared for their toleration and

godliness, and might have been instrumental, if not to have healed the breaches, yet to have kept the godly of all judgments from running one upon another, and by keeping them from being overrun by a common enemy, rendered them and these nations both secure, happy, and well satisfied.

"Are these done, or any thing towards them? Is there not yet upon the spirits of men a strange itch? Nothing will satisfy them, unless they can put their finger upon their brethrens consciences, to pinch them there. To do this was no part of the contest we had with the common adversary; for religion was not the thing at the first contested for, but God brought it to that issue at last, and gave it to us by way of redundancy, and at last it proved to be that which was most dear to us; and wherein consisted this, more than in obtaining that liberty from the tyranny of the bishops to all species of protestants, to worship God according to their own light and consciences? for want of which many of our brethren forsook their native countries to seek their bread from strangers, and to live in howling wildernesses; and for which also, many that remained here were imprisoned and otherwise abused. Those who were sound in the faith, how proper was it for them to labour for liberty, for a just liberty, that men should not be trampled upon for their consciences? Had not they laboured but lately under the weight of persecutions, and was it fit for them to sit heavy upon others? Is it ingenuous to ask liberty and not to give it? What greater hypocrisy, than for those who were oppressed by the bishops, to become the greatest oppressors themselves as soon as their yoke was removed! I could wish that they who call for liberty now also, had not too much of that spirit if the power were in their hands. As for prophane persons, blasphemers, such as preach sedition, the contentious railers, evil speakers, who seek by evil words to corrupt good manners, persons of loose conversations, punishment from the civil magistrate ought to meet with them; because if these pretend conscience, yet walk-

encouragement. Indeed he constantly was a

ing disorderly, and not according but contrary to the Gospel, and even to natural light, they are judged of all, and their sins being open, makes them subjects of the magistrate's sword, who ought not to bear it in vain[a]."——In a speech to the parliament, Ap. 3, 1657, speaking concerning the provision made for liberty of conscience in the Humble Petition and Advice, he made use of the following words: "As to the liberty of men professing godliness under the variety of forms amongst us, you have done that, which was never done before; and I pray God it may not fall upon the people of God as a fault in them, or any sort of them, if they do not put such a value on what was done, as never was put on any thing since Christ's time, for such a catholick interest of the people of God[b]."—These extracts fully evince Cromwell's judgment concerning liberty of conscience, and make appear how zealous he indeed was to restrain men from injuring each other on the account of it: in a word, they shew the man, the Christian, the politician. I must add,

3. That Oliver's practice was conformable to his principles. Though he declared himself an independant, (I suppose as that sect avowedly appeared for civil and religious liberty in its greatest latitude) yet he confined not his respect or his favours to them. He had great latitude of judgment, and conceived that as it was very possible for wise and good men to differ in their opinions about many points of religion, yet being equally wise and honest, they ought equally to be regarded. We find Manton praying at his inauguration, Baxter preaching at his court, and Calamy consulted by him on a point of importance. These were all presbyterians, little affected to him, but inclined to the royal interest. The episcopalians, many of them, were treated with equal favour and regard, though the party, as such, gave him a good deal of trouble. He sent for Dr.

[a] Whitlock, p. 614. [b] Thurloe, vol. I. p. 737.

friend to religious liberty, and an opposer of

Brownrig, bishop of Exeter, and treated him with great outward respect; he saved Dr. Barnard's life at the taking Droghedah, and made him his almoner; he invited archbishop Usher to him, and used him with much civility, conversing with him about the advancement of the protestant religion at home and abroad, and promising him to make him a lease of some parts of the lands belonging to the archbishoprick of Armagh for 21 years, and at his death, ordered him to be interred with great pomp in Westminster Abbey, where Dr. Barnard to a crowded audience preached his funeral sermon [a]. Dr. Parr, from whom I have the above particulars, imputes Cromwell's ordering this so honourable an interment of Usher's corpse, not only to a desire of advancing his own honour, but likewise to a design of punishing Usher's relations, by putting them to a great expence: but as he owns the protector contributed two hundred pounds towards it, it is no way likely he had any such view. He probably thought, that sufficient for a very honourable burial—those who exceeded it were to blame themselves, if they were hurt thereby.—But it is very hard to please those who are disposed to find fault.——Cromwell's behaviour was also equally humane to such as professed opinions uncountenanced by the many in Britain. To John Biddle, who was an Unitarian, and the father of the English Unitarians, in his banishment into Scilly, he allowed a pension of an hundred crowns a year; he admitted Jeremiah White and Peter Sterry into the number of his chaplains, thougl. few speculated more freely on the ends and designs of Providence, or more out of the then road; and John Goodwin, though hated by the fashionable ecclesiastics, continued constantly in his favour [b].

Nor were even the Romanists that behaved well, destitute of it. Sir Kenelm Digby, a man of quality, a philosopher

[a] Parr's Life of Usher, p. 73, & *seqq.* folio. Lond. 1686.

[b] Life of Mr. Thom. Firmin, p. 10. 8vo. Lond. 1698.

spiritual tyranny. No wonder therefore that,

and a catholic, in a letter to Mr. Secretary Thurloe, dated Paris, March 18, 1656, has the following passages. [a] "My obligations to his highness are so great, that it would be a crime in me to behave myself so negligently as to give cause for any shadow of the least suspicion, or to do any thing that might require an excuse or apology. I make it my business every where, to have all the world take notice how highly I esteem myself obliged to his highness, and how passionate I am for his service, and for his honor and interest, even to the exposing of my life for them.——I should think my heart were not an honest one, if the blood about it were not warmed with any the least imputation upon my respects and my duty to his highness, to whom I owe so much [a]." Mr. Prynne informs us, "that Sir Kenelme was lodged by Cromwell at Whitehall; that he suspended penal laws against Romish priests; and protected several of them under his hand and seal [b]." It is certain he wrote to the governor of Virginia in favour of lord Baltimore, proprietor of Maryland, who was of the catholic persuasion [c].

I will add but one thing more. It is well known Cromwell (though a believer in the prophecies of the Old Testament, equally, to say the least, with our modern controvertists) was willing to harbour the Jews in England; that he appointed an assembly of men of several professions to consider of the expediency of it; and that it was not owing to him or his council that it proved lost labour.——All these considerations will, if I mistake not, abundantly make appear the truth of the text, that bigotry made no part of Cromwell's character. It may be said this was all policy.—If it was—it was not the policy of bigots, who break through every tie, human and divine, in order to promote their implanted nonsense and superstition.

[a] Thurloe, vol. IV. p. 592. [b] True and perfect Narrative of what was done, spoken by, and between Mr. Prynne, &c. the 7th of May, 1659. 4 o. without name of place or printer. [c] Thurloe, vol. I. p. 724.

in the first part of life, he fell " in with the

" He fell in with the puritans, greatly oppressed.] The controversy between the prelatists and the puritans will appear in the eyes of most, in this age, as very trifling and insignificant, and very unworthy of the attention which was formerly paid it. They were a stiff kind of men, many of them, of both sides; of weak capacities or uninformed understandings; who imposed unreasonably, and resisted obstinately. But on the behalf of the puritans, it must be observed that they always pretended conscience for their nonconformity, and, probably, as they were very great sufferers, they were sincere. This recommended them, as well as their regular behaviour, to the favour of the friends of civil liberty, and the lovers of virtue. These gentlemen, probably, saw many of their weaknesses, but they approved their honesty and integrity, used their interest to bring them out of trouble, and generously helped them in their difficulties.——Another thing there was, which added not a little to their worth in the eyes of many of the most considerable persons of those times, namely, an adherence to the doctrinal articles of the church of England, in the sense of the compilers, and a strong aversion to popery. The gentry then read and wrote books of religious controversy, and very many of them became converts to their party.—— But however, this is certain, the puritans were sufferers; sufferers for conscientiously refusing to practise things which, in the opinion of their adversaries, were of no worth or value; sufferers from men who pretended to be rulers and governors in a protestant church, whose doctrines they disowned in many points; and sufferers from men whose pride, ambition, avarice, and cruelty had rendered them odious to the people in general, as well as to wise and considerate men. These persons here meant were court-prelates, in the times of James and Charles I.

Such as for their bellies sake
Creep, and intrude, and climb into the fold.
Of other care they little reck'ning make,

puritans, greatly oppressed on account of their

> Than how to scramble at the shearers feast,
> And shove away the worthy bidden guest.
> Blind mouths! that scarce themselves know how to hold
> A sheep-hook, or have learn'd ought else the least
> That to the faithful herdsman's art belongs!
> What recks it them? what need they? They are sped;
> And when they list, their lean and flashy songs
> Grate on their scrannel pipes of wretched straw;
> The hungry sheep look up, and are not fed,
> But swoln with wind, and the rank mist they draw,
> Rot inwardly, and foul contagion spread:
> Besides what the grim wolf with privy paw
> Daily devours apace, and nothing said. MILTON.

This is not merely a poetical exaggeration. Soon after these lines were written, a polite writer, who declares himself no puritan, speaks of these bishops in the following terms.—"The more our prelates enjoy, the more still they seek; and all our three kingdoms are grown so sick of their pride, injustice, and pragmatical faction, that scarce any remedy but blood-letting can cure them. We find in Scripture the most high and holy offices of religion performed by princes, even amongst and above the greatest of priests; but we scarce find any instance at all where priests intermeddled with any state affairs, either above or under princes: and yet with us now the employing and entrusting of clergymen in temporal business, is held as politick as it was in the times of popery: although no time could ever justly boast of that use. But to pass over temporal businesses, how violently have our bishops been in their own canons about ceremonies, and indifferencies? and what disturbance hath that violence produced? They strive as for the beauty and glory of religion, to bring in the same forms of liturgy, the same posture of the communion-table, the same gesture at the communion, &c. in all our three dominions; as if uniformity were always beautiful: and yet we see all men are created with several faces, voices, and complexions, without any deformity to the universe."—This is a fine thought, and has been frequently made use of by our best

nonconformity, and appeared as their advocate

advocates for toleration.—The same writer, speaking of the same men, asserts that "in the high commission, at the council table, in the star chamber, and the chequer, churchmen are now more active than in their own consistories, and yet their ambition further aims (as it is said) to the chancery, court of requests, &c. which could not chuse to redound to the scandal of religion, the obstruction of justice, and vexation of the subject. If there were not learned and skilful men enough in policy and law to serve the king, unless divinity were deprived of some of her followers, there were some seeming umbrage why the king might borrow of God; but when God's more holy office is neglected, that the king's meaner may be the worse administred, the world much gazes and wonders at it[a]." We may naturally enough imagine men thus ambitious of power and wealth were not overstocked with real religion! and we may, with like probability, conclude that pretences to conscience in their eyes had but an odd and ridiculous appearance! and consequently that the persons who made use of them to justify their opposition to their injunctions would fare little the better for them. I will not enter here into the particulars of the hardships and oppressions which the puritans underwent from the prelates, and the high hand which was carried by these latter over all who opposed them. I have given a sketch of it elsewhere, and must refer such as may be uninformed thither[b]. However, the following short litany may not be unacceptable even to those who are best acquainted with their transactions. It shews their behaviour, and the sense men then had of it.

A SHORT LETANIE.

From this prelatical pride and their lordly dignities;

From all their superstitious vanities and popish ceremonies;

[a] Discourse concerning Puritans, p. 36. 4to. Lond. printed for Robert Bostock, 1641. [b] Vol. I. p. 207

both in the country and the parliament; that

From their late innovations and mischievous policies;
From the cursed oath *ex officio*, and high commission cruelties;
From their Romish clergy, and the peoples unsufferable miseries;
From their greedy gainful visitations, and the churchwardens enforced perjuries;
From their most corrupt courts, and their vexing slaveries;
From all their fruitless shadows, and hypocritical formalities;
From their hatred and malice against Christ's appointed ordinances;
From their needlessly devised and troublesome conformities;
From all their illegal proceedings, and oppressing tyrannies;
From their sinful synods, and all their papal hierarchy;
From Abaddon and Apollyon, with their priests, jesuits, their favourites, and all their furious blasphemers;
Good Lord, deliver us [a].

From this little satire appears how ill beloved, yea hated, these men were, how tyrannical and cruel they were deemed! To oppose these then must have been meritorious; to screen such as were oppressed by them, humane and charitable. Cromwell did this as much as lay in his power. When the puritans were like to come into trouble, he would attend on Dr. Williams, bishop of Lincoln, at Bugden, and speak in their behalf [b]. What his success was appears not: probably but small, for Williams being jostled out of favour by the arts of Laud, and Buckingham, to the latter of whom he had been a servile tool, was fearful of shewing favour, lest his adversary might get a farther advantage over him.—

[a] Short View of the Prelatical Church of England, p. 39. 4to.
[b] See Phillips's Life of Williams, p. 290. 8vo. Cambridge, 1700.

he censured and opposed the court prelates; and[12]

In the parliament 1628, we find Cromwell in a "committee concerning the pardons granted by the king [Charles] since the last session, to certain persons questioned in parliament. And we are told that he inform'd the house what countenance the bishop of Winchester did give to some persons that preached flat popery, and mentioned the persons by name, and how by this bishop's means Manwaring (who, by censure the last parliament, was disabled for ever holding any ecclesiastical dignity in the church, and confessed the justice of that censure) is nevertheless preferred to a rich living. If these be the steps to church preferment (said he) what may we expect[a]?" But these efforts of his, as well as of the greatest and best men in the house of commons, were ineffectual. They were protected by Charles, who would rather dissolve a parliament, than degrade a court-prerogative-bishop.

[12] And preferred freedom in a foreign land to the slavery and oppression which were continually increasing at home.] Charles I. and his ministers were bent on introducing uniformity in religion, and despotism in the state. They met with opposition in parliaments—and therefore parliaments for a long course of years were laid aside. Private persons spoke and wrote against the measures pursued; but they got nothing for their pains but fines, imprisonments, or barbarous corporal punishments. The courts of law indeed were open—but they were properly the king's courts. The prerogative was what they maintained and enlarged to the utmost of their power, and no man had a chance to succeed in them, who would not submit to it. In short, the judges declared in effect that the king's will was law, and that the property of the subject, was indeed his. After Hampden's stand in the great case of ship-money, and the infamous determination of the much greater part of the bench, all was profound silence; a dead calm succeeded; every one looked

[a] Rushworth's Collections, vol. I. p. 655. fol. Lond. 1659.

even preferred freedom in a foreign land

about him for a place of refuge and retreat from the iron hand of power. For it was manifest there was no redress, and that the men at the helm were for an unrelenting severity. Let us hear Laud, in his epistle dedicatory to his master. "God forbid I should ever offer to perswade a persecution in any kind, or practise it in the least.——But on the other side, God forbid too, that your majesty should let both laws and discipline sleep for fear of the name of persecution, and in the mean time let Mr. Fisher and his fellows angle in all parts of your dominions for your subjects. If in your grace and goodness you will spare their persons: yet I humbly beseech you to see to it, that they be not suffered to lay either their weels, or bait their hooks, or cast their nets in every stream, lest that tentation grow both too general and too strong.——Now as I would humbly beseech your majesty to keep a serious watch upon these fishermen,——so I would not have you neglect another sort of anglers, in a shallower water. For they have some ill nets too. And if they may spread them, when, and where they will, God knows what may become of it. These have not so strong a back abroad, as the Romanists have, but that's no argument to suffer them to increase. They may grow to equal strength with number. And factious people, at home, of what sect or fond opinion soever they be, are not to be neglected. Partly because they are so near; and 'tis ever a dangerous fire, that begins in the bed straw; and partly, because all those domestick evils, which threaten a rent in church or state, are with far more safety prevented by wisdom, than punished by justice." Thus speaks the great director of affairs to his master. A little afterwards, he says, "I know it is a great ease to let every thing be as it will, and every man believe, and do as he list. But whether governors in state or church do their duty therewhile, is easily seen, since this is an effect of no king in Israel. The church of Christ upon earth may be compared to a hive of bees, and that can be no where so steadily plac'd in this

to the slavery and oppression which were con-

world, but it will be in some danger. And men that care neither for the hive nor the bees, have yet a great mind to the honey. And having once tasted the sweets of the churches maintenance, swallow that for honey, which one day will be more bitter than gall in their bowels. Now the king and the priest, more than any other, are bound to look to the integrity of the church in doctrine and manners, and that in the first place. For that's by far the best honey in the hive. But in the second place, they must be careful of the churches maintenance too, else the bees shall make honey for others, and have none left for their own necessary sustenance, and then all's lost. For we see it in daily and common use, that the honey is not taken from the bees, but they are destroyed first. Now in this great and busy work the king and the priest must not fear to put their hands to the hive, though they be sure to be stung. And stung by the bees, whose hive and house they preserve. It was king David's case, (God grant it be never yours). They came about me (saith the Psalm 118) like bees. This was hard usage enough, yet some profit, some honey might thus be gotten in the end: and that's the king's case. But when it comes to the priest, the case is alter'd; They come about him like wasps, or like hornets rather; all sting, and no honey there. And all this many times for no offence, nay sometimes for service done them, would they see it.—— Now one thing more let me be bold to observe to your majesty, in particular, concerning your great charge, the church of England. 'Tis in an hard condition. She professes the antient catholick faith; and yet the Romanist condemns her of novelty in her doctrine. She practises church government, as it hath been in use in all ages, and in all places, where the church of Christ hath taken any rooting, both in, and ever since the Apostles times; and yet the separatist condemns her for antichristianism, in her discipline. The plain truth is, she is between these two factions, as between two milstones; and unless your majesty

tinually increasing at home. But his intentions

look to it, to whose trust she is committed, she'll be ground to powder, to an irreparable both dishonour, and loss to this kingdom. And 'tis very remarkable, that while both these press hard upon the church of England, both of them cry out upon persecution, like froward children, which scratch, and kick, and bite, and yet cry out all the while, as if themselves were killed[a]." These passages, long as they are, will be deemed curious by many. They discover the man, and his measures, and shew what his adversaries had to expect. Lord Strafforde, though of a much more elevated understanding, came not a whit behind the prelate in rigour. His own account of part of a speech at the council board, in England, written to his intimate friend, Sir Christopher Wandesford, master of the rolls in Ireland, will fully shew this. I will give his justification of himself, on the accusation of rigour, at large.——"I craved admission to justify myself in some particulars, wherein I had been very undeservedly and bloodily traduc'd. So I related unto them all that had passed betwixt myself, earl of St. Albans, Wilmot, Mountnorris, Piers, Crosby, and the jury of Gallway, that hereupon touching and rubbing in the course of my service upon their particulars, themselves and friends have endeavoured to possess the world, I was a severe and an austere hard-conditioned man, rather indeed a basha of Buda, than the minister of a pious and Christian king. Howbeit, if I were not much mistaken in myself, it was quite the contrary, no man could shew wherein I had expressed it in my nature, no friend I had would charge me with it in my private conversation, no creature had found it in the managing of my own private affairs, so as if I stood clear in all these respects, it was to be confessed by any equal mind that it was not any thing within, but the necessity of his majesties service, which enforced me into a seeming strictness outwardly. And that was the reason indeed, for where

[a] Dedication to his Conference with Fisher, p. 10—14. fol. Lond. 1673.

were frustrated, and, with the rest of the nation,

I found a crown, a church, and a people spoil'd, I could not imagine to redeem them from under the pressure with gracious smiles and gentle looks, it would cost warmer water than so. True it was, that where a dominion was once gotten and settled, it might be stayed and kept where it was by soft and moderate counsels, but where a sovereignty (be it spoken with reverence) was going down the hill, the nature of men did so easily slide into the paths of uncontroul'd liberty, as it would not be brought back without strength, not to be forced up the hill again but by vigour and force. And true it was indeed, I knew no other rule to govern by, but by reward and punishment, and I must profess that where I found a person well and intirely set for the service of my master, I should lay my hand under his foot, and add to his respect and power all I might, and that where I found the contrary, I should not handle him in my arms, or sooth him in his untoward humour, but if he came in my reach, so far as honour and justice would warrant me, I must knock him soundly over the knuckles, but no sooner he become a new man, apply himself as he ought to the government, but I also change my temper, and express myself to him, as unto that other, by all the good offices I could do him. If this be sharpness, if this be severity, I desire to be better instructed by his majesty and their lordships, for in truth it did not seem so to me; however, if I were once told, that his majesty liked not to be thus served, I would readily conform myself, follow the bent and current of my own disposition, which is to be quiet, not to have debates and disputes with any. Here his majesty interrupted me and said, that was no severity, wished me to go on in that way: for, if I served him otherwise, I should not serve him as he expected from me[a]." Thus it was the welfare of the church, and the necessity of his majesty's service, required persecution and oppression, and forced these men, if you

[a] Strafforde's Letters and Dispatches, vol. II. p. 20.

he was made to feel and fear the yoke of tyranny.

will believe them, to act contrary to their own inclinations. ——But whatever was the occasion, the government, of which they had the chief direction, was very severe. "The severe censures in the star-chamber, and the greatness of the fines, and the rigorous proceedings to impose ceremonies, the suspending and silencing multitudes of ministers, for not reading in the church the book for sports to be exercis'd on the Lord's day, caused many of the nation both ministers and others to sell their estates and to set sail for New England, where they held a plantatio by patent from the king[a]." "The lord Brooke, and the lord Say and Seale had actually pitched upon a spot in New England, whither they purposed to transport themselves, when the excesses of the court threatened destruction to the freedom of their country. In 1635, the two lords sent over Mr. George Fenwicke to prepare a retreat for them and their friends, in consequence of which a little town was built, and called by their joint names Saybrooke[b]." Among others, thus inclined, was the patriot Hampden, and his cousin Oliver Cromwell[c]: but being on board they were stopped by a proclamation, whereby "all merchants, masters and owners of ships were forbidden to set forth any ship or ships with passengers, till they first obtained special licence on that behalf from such of the lords of his Majesties privy council as were appointed for the business of foreign plantations." Nothing could be more barbarous than this! To impose laws on men which in conscience they thought they could not comply with; to punish them for their non-compliance, and continually revile them as undutiful and disobedient subject by reason thereof, and yet not permit them peaceably to depart and enjoy their own opinions in a distant part of the world, yet dependant on the sovereign: to do all

[a] Rushworth, vol. II. p. 410. [b] Walpole's Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, vol. I. p. 206. 12mo. 1759. [c] Neale's History of the Puritans, p. 552. vol. II. 8vo. Lond. 1733.

We know little more of Cromwell's actions, (his opposition to the draining[13] of the fens, projected by a powerful nobleman, excepted)

this, was base, barbarous and inhuman. But persecutors of all ages and nations are near the same: they are without the feelings and without the understandings of men. Cromwell or Hampden could have given little opposition to the measures of Charles in the wilds of North America. In England they engaged with spirit against him, and he had reason to repent his hindering their voyage. May such at all times be the reward of those who attempt to rule over their fellow-men with rigour: may they find that they will not be slaves to kings or priests! But that they know the rights, by nature conferred on them, and will assert them! This will make princes cautious how they give themselves up to arbitrary counsels, and dread the consequences of them. And may every minister, who forgets or tramples on the laws of humanity, have his character at least as much branded as are Strafforde's and Laud's.

[13] He opposed the draining of the fens, &c.] The fenny country reaches sixty-eight miles from the borders of Suffolk, to Wainfleet in Lincolnshire, and contains some millions of acres in the four counties of Cambridge, Huntington, Northampton, and Lincoln. The draining of it had frequently been considered and debated in parliament in former times; but, though deemed useful, was laid aside, through fear that it would soon return to its old state, like the Pontine marshes in Italy, after their draining[a]. "The earl of Bedford, and divers of the principal gentlemen, whose habitations confined upon the fens, and who, in the heat of summer, saw vast quantities of lands which the fresh waters overflowed in the winter, lie dry and green, or drainable: whether it was publick spirit, or private advantage, which led them thereunto, a stranger cannot determine; they make propositions unto the king to issue out commis-

[a] Cambden's Britannia, by Gibson, vol. I. c. 489, 490. fol. Lond. 170[illegible].

till the parliament summoned, through necessity, by Charles I. in November, one thousand six hundred and forty; a parliament ever me

sions of sewers to drain those lands, and offer a proportion freely to be given to the crown for its countenance and authority therein: and as all these great and publick works must necessarily *concern multitudes of persons, who will never think they have exact justice done to them for that* small pretence of right they have unto some commons; so the commissioners, let them do what they can, could never satisfy such a body of men. And now the king is declared the principal undertaker for the draining; and by this time the vulgar are grown clamorous against these first popular lords and undertakers, who had joined with the king in the second undertaking, though they had much better provisions for them than their interest was ever before: and the commissioners must by multitudes and clamours be withstood; and, as a head of this faction, Mr. Cromwell, in the year 1639, at Huntington, appears: which made his activity so well known to his friend and kinsman, Mr. Hampden, that he, in this parliament, gave a character of Cromwell, of being an active person, and one that would sit well at the mark[a]."——Dugdale tells us, "his boldness and eloquence in this business gained him so much credit, as that, soon after, being necessitated, through his low condition, to quit a country farm, which he held at St. Ives, and betake himself to mean lodgings in Cambridge, the schismatical party there chose him a burgess, for their corporation, in that unhappy long parliament, which began at Westminster the third of November 1640[b]." What were Cromwell's motives to oppose the drainings of the fens is hard, at this distance of time, to say. Ignorance of its utility, supposed injury to the common people, who pastured their cattle there, or a desire of ingratiating himself with the country to whom this project was odious, may separately or jointly

[a] Warwick, p. 250. [b] Dugdale's Short View, p. 460.

morable in the British annals! ever to be celebrated and admired by the lovers of liberty, for its resolution, firmness, and public spirit!

have occasioned it. However his successful opposition gave his enemies an occasion afterwards to dignify him with the title of "Lord of the Fens[a]." The reader may perhaps be pleased to hear, that, long since the times I am now writing of, "the county of Cambridge hath received a very considerable improvement, by draining the fens in the isle of Ely, a work that was carried on at a vast expence, but has at last turned to double account, both in gaining much ground, and mending the rest; and also in refining and clearing the air of this country[b]." It were to be wished we had more of such improvements.———Since writing the above, I find an act of parliament, passed in the year 1649, for draining the great level of the fens. In the preamble of this act it is said, "That whereas the said great level, by reason of frequent overflowings of the rivers——have been of small and uncertain profit, but (if drained) may be improved and made profitable, and of great advantage to the commonwealth, and the particular owners, &c.——And whereas Francis, late earl of Bedford, did undertake the said work, and had ninety-five thousand acres, parcel of the said great level, decreed and set forth, in October, in the thirteenth year of the reign of the late king Charles, in recompense thereof: and he and his participants, and their heirs and assigns, have made a good progress therein, with expence of great and vast sums of money;—but by reason of some late interruptions, the works there made have fallen into decay: Be it therefore enacted and ordained, that William, now earl of Bedford, &c. in recompence of the aforesaid charge and adventure, and for bearing the charge of draining, and maintaining the works from time to time, shall have and enjoy the said whole ninety-five thousand acres." Oliver Cromwell, lieutenant-general, is appointed one of

[a] Mercurius Aulicus, Nov. 5, 1643. [b] Gibson's Cambden, vol. I. p. 479.

In this memorable period Oliver joined the glorious band[14] of patriots, who wished well to their king, their country, their religion, and

the commissioners, to hear, determine, order, adjudge and execute all such things as are prescribed by this act.—— Another act passed May 26, 1654, under the protectorship of Cromwell, for the same purpose[a]. From these acts of parliament it plainly appears, that, whatever opposition was made to lord Bedford, and the other undertakers, yet it hindered not their proceedings; that the parliament of the commonwealth of England was attentive to the public utility; and that Cromwell was wise enough to overcome his prejudices, and join in promoting the common good.

[14] He joined the glorious band of patriots.] It is well known how hateful the measures of the court were at the meeting of this parliament. Every thing unpopular, unjust and odious had been put in practice, in order to be able to do without parliaments, and to rule by will and pleasure. Those who had suffered for their opposition to injustice and tyranny, were now the favourites of the people. They were applauded and caressed every where; nor could any, with safety, open their mouths against them. In this temper were the people when Charles, by dire necessity, was compelled to call this ever-memorable parliament. The people rejoiced; they hoped the time was now come when they might utter their grievances with impunity, and expect redress. Accordingly they, for the most part, took great care in the choice of their representatives, as esteeming it of the utmost importance to their religion and liberties. Whoever hoped for the honour of a seat in parliament must, at least, have promised fair, and appeared hearty in the cause of his country. Men of this character were not wanting; and though some friends to tyranny, and future

[a] Scobel's Collection of Acts and Ordinances, May 1649, and May 1654. fol. Lond. 1658.

laws. Here, almost immediately, Cromwell was appointed of a committee, with Mr. Hampden,

apostates found means to enter, the majority were honest and upright, of fair intentions and firm resolutions.——Lord Clarendon, speaking of them, says, "In the house of commons were many persons of wisdom and gravity, who being possessed of great and plentiful fortunes, though they were undevoted enough to the court, had all imaginable duty for the king, and affection for the government established by law or antient custom; and, without doubt, the major part of that body consisted of men who had no mind to break the peace of the kingdom, or to make any considerable alteration in the government of church and state; and therefore all inventions were set on foot from the beginning to work on them and corrupt them, by suggestions 'of the dangers which threatened all that was precious to the subject in their liberty and their property, by overthrowing or overmastering the law, and subjecting it to an arbitrary power, and by countenancing popery to the subversion of the protestant religion;' and then, by infusing terrible apprehensions into some; and so working upon their fears 'of being called in question for somewhat they had done, by which they would stand in need of their protection;' and raising the hopes of others, 'that, by concurring with them, they should be sure to obtain offices and honours, and any kind of preferment.' Though there were too many corrupted and misled by these several temptations, and others who needed no other temptations than from the fierceness of their own natures, and the malice they had contracted against the church and against the court; yet the number was not great of those in whom the government of the rest was vested, nor were there many who had the absolute authority to lead, though there was a multitude disposed to follow[a]." What their views and designs were, the same author tells us—— "There was observed a marvellous elated countenance in

[a] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. I. p. 184.

Mr. Stroode, Alderman Pennington, Sir Edward Hungerford, Mr. Kirton, Mr. Holles,

many of the members of parliament before they met together in the house; the same men who, six months before, were observed to be of very moderate tempers, and to wish that gentle remedies might be applied, without opening the wound too wide, and exposing it to the air, and rather to cure what was amiss, than too strictly to make inquisition into the causes and original of the malady, talked now in another dialect both of things and persons; and said that they must now be of another temper than they were the last parliament; that they must not only sweep the house clean below, but must pull down all the cobwebs which hung in the top and corners, that they might not breed dust, and so make a foul house hereafter; that they had now an opportunity to make their country happy, by removing all grievances, and pulling up the causes of them by the roots, if all men would do their duties; and used much other sharp discourse to the same purpose[a]." And what is there marvellous in this? These men had, by very late and fresh experience, found that the king was obstinately bent on his old courses, cherished the same tools of tyranny, hated the sons of freedom, and even dared to imprison men for doing their duty in parliament: I say, they had lately had new proofs of it, and therefore were not to be blamed for their sharp discourse, or sharper actions.

Immediately, on the opening of this parliament, we find great complaints made of grievances, not only by Mr. Pymme (alone mentioned by Clarendon, who has confounded the business of grievances with lord Strafforde's affair) but also by Mr. Capel, afterwards lord Capel, sir Henry Bellasis, Sir John Wray, Sir Hugh Cholmely, Sir Philip Musgrave, Sir Francis Seymour, Sir John Packington, Sir Thomas Barrington, Sir John Colepepper, and others. The grievances were threefold; 1. some against

[a] Clarendon's History of the Rebellion, vol. I. p. 171.

Mr. Valentine, Mr. Peard, Lord Digby, Mr. St. John, Mr. Selden, Mr. Rous, Mr. Pym,

the privilege of parliament; 2. others to the prejudice of religion; and, 3. another sort against the liberty of the subject. These were enlarged on with no unnatural warmth; their illegality and hardship manifested; the instruments of oppression pointed out, and their demerits displayed; and remedies for removing the grievances were mentioned, viz. by declaring the law where it was doubtful, and providing for the execution of the law where it was clear[a]. And to the honour of the house of commons it must be said, that they went briskly to work, and accomplished many of their good intentions, uninfluenced by hope, unawed by fear. They impeached the king's chief ministers, Strafforde and Laud, and brought them deservedly to the block; they declared the judgment of the judges to be false and illegal; they abolished those vile courts of the high-commission and star-chamber, in which so many oppressive and cruel sentences had been passed; they gave liberty to those in captivity for their opposition to the prelates; they provided for the frequency of parliaments, the disuse of which had given boldness to the courtiers; they clipt the wings of the ecclesiastics, and brought them nearer to their first institution; and they would have done many other things, equally useful to that age and posterity, had they not been deserted by some, opposed by others, and hindered by royal authority. But they continued their endeavours notwithstanding, and, for the public good, exposed their fortunes, themselves, and their posterity, to the civil war; in which, had they been overcome, they would all have been treated as traitors and rebels. Mr. Neville had reason then for characterizing them, at least twenty or thirty of them, "as men of high and unquestionable reputation, who having stood their ground in seven parliaments before, which, in the two last kings'

[a] Rushworth, vol. IV. p. 21—24.

Mr. Bagshaw, and Mr. Grimston, to take into consideration the petitions of Leighton and

reigns, [this was wrote in the time of Charles II.] had been dissolved abruptly and in wrath, and having resisted the fear of imprisonment and great fines for their love to England, as well as the temptation of money and offices to betray it, both inferred by the wicked councellours of that age, tending both to the ruin of our just rights, and the detriment of their master's affairs; I say, having constantly, and with great magnanimity and honour, made proof of their integrity, they had acquired so great a reputation, that not only the parliament, but even almost the whole people, stuck to them and were swayed by them ——without fear of being deserted, or, as we say, left in the lurch[a]."—— Let us hear Milton rehearsing their praises in 1642. After having mentioned their birth, their education, and their virtue unsullied amidst great discouragements and temptations, he adds, "Thus, in the midst of all disadvantages and disrespects (some also at last not without imprisonment and open disgraces in the cause of their country) having given proof of themselves to be better made and framed by nature to the love and practice of virtue, than others, under the holiest precepts and best examples, have been headstrong and prone to vice; and having, in all the trials of a firm ingrafted honesty, not oftner buckled in the conflict than given every opposition the foil; this, moreover, was added, by favour from heaven, as an ornament and happiness to their virtue, that it should be neither obscure, in the opinion of men, nor eclipsed for want of matter equal to illustrate itself; God and man consenting, in joint approbation, to chuse them out, as worthiest above others, to be both the great reformers of the Church, and the restorers of the commonwealth. Nor did they deceive that expectation which, with the eyes and desires of their country, was fixt upon them; for no sooner

[a] Plato Redivivus, p. 289. 12mo. 2d ed.

Lilburn[a], who had been so inhumanly used for

did the force of so much united excellence meet in one globe of brightness and efficacy, but, encountering the dazled resistance of tyranny, they gave not over, though their enemies were strong and suttle, till they had laid her groveling upon the fatal block: with one stroke winning again our lost liberties and charters, which our forefathers, after so many battles, could scarce maintain. And meeting next, as I may so resemble, with the second life of tyranny (for she was grown an ambiguous monster, and to be slain in two shapes) guarded with superstition, which hath no small power to captivate the minds of men otherwise most wise, they neither were taken with her mitred hypocrisy, nor terrified with the push of her bestial horns, but, breaking them immediately, forced her to unbend the pontifical brow, and recoil: which repulse, only given to the prelates (that we may imagine how happy their removal would be) was the producement of such glorious effects and consequences in the church, that, if I should compare them with those exploits of highest fame in poems and panegyrics of old, I am certain it would but diminish and impair their worth, who are now my argument; for those antient worthies delivered men from such tyrants as were content to inforce only an outward obedience, letting the mind be as free as it could; but these have freed us from a doctrine of tyranny that offered violence and corruption even to the inward perswasion: they set at liberty nations and cities of men, good and bad mixed together; but these, opening the prisons and dungeons, called out of darkness and bonds the elect martyrs and witnesses of their Redeemer: they restored the body to ease and wealth; but these the oppressed conscience to that freedom which is the chief prerogative of the gospel; taking off those cruel burthens imposed not by necessity, as other tyrants are wont for the safeguard of their lives, but laid upon our necks by the strange wilfulness and wantonness of a needless and jolly persecutor called

[a] Journals of the House of Commons, Nov. 9, 1640.

their opposition to the prelates: and we need

indifference. Lastly, Some of those ancient deliverers have had immortal praises, for preserving their citizens from a famine of corn; but these, by this only repulse of an unholy hierarchy, almost in a moment replenished with saving knowledge their country, nigh famished for want of that which should feed their souls[a]." This is very just, and admirably expressed; however, it is but justice to the reader, to let him know that Milton altered his opinion of these very men, on account that their after proceedings, in his judgment, were unsuitable to these glorious beginnings. His words are worth recording. "A parliament being called, to redress many things, as 'twas thought, the people, with great courage, and expectation to be eased of what discontented them, chose to their behoof in parliament, such as they thought best affected to the public good, and some indeed men of wisdom and integrity; the rest, (to be sure the greater part) whom wealth or ample possessions, or bold and active ambition (rather than merit) had commended to the same place. But when once the superficial zeal and popular fumes, that acted their new magistracy, were cooled and spent in them, strait every one betook himself (setting the commonwealth behind, his private ends before) to do as his own profit or ambition led him. Then was justice delayed, and soon after denied; spight and favour determined all: hence faction, thence treachery, both at home and in the field: every where wrong and oppression: foul and horrid deeds committed daily, or maintained in secret, or in open. Some who had been called from shops and warehouses, without other merit, to sit in supreme councils and committees, (as their breeding was) fell to huckster the commonwealth. Others did thereafter as men could sooth and humour them best; so he who most did give most, or under covert of hypocritical zeal, insinuat[illegible]st, enjoyed unworthily the rewards of learning and fidelity; or escaped the punishment of his crimes and

[a] Milton's Prose Works, vol. I. p. 130.

not doubt but with zeal he joined in it. The

misdeeds. Their votes and ordinances, which men looked should have contained the repealing of bad laws, and the immediate constitution of better, resounded with nothing else, but new impositions, taxes, excises; yearly, monthly, weekly. Not to reckon the offices, gifts and preferments, bestowed and shared among themselves.——And, if the state were in this plight, religion was not in much better; to reform which, a certain number of divines were called; neither chosen by any rule or custom ecclesiastical, nor eminent for either piety or knowledge above others left out, only as each member of parliament, in his private fancy, thought fit, so elected one by one. The most part of them were such as had preached and cried down, with great shew of zeal, the avarice and pluralities of bishops and prelates; that one cure of souls was a full employment for one spiritual pastor, how able soever, if not a charge rather above human strength. Yet these conscientious men (ere any part of the work done for which they came together, and that on the public salary) wanted not boldness, to the ignominy and scandal of their pastor-like profession, and especially of their boasted reformation, to seize into their hands, or not unwillingly to accept (besides one, sometimes two or more of the best livings) collegiate masterships in the universities, rich lectures in the city, setting sail to all winds that might blow gain into their covetous bosoms; by which means these great rebukers of non-residence, among so many distant cures, were not ashamed to be seen so quickly pluralists and non-residents themselves, to a fearful condemnation, doubtless, by their own mouths. And yet the main doctrine, for which they took such pay, and insisted upon with more vehemence than gospel, was but to tell us, in effect, that their doctrine was worth nothing, and the spiritual power of their ministry less available than bodily compulsion; persuading the magistrate to use it, as a stronger means to subdue and bring in conscience than evangelical

tyranny of the bishops had been long odious in

persuasion; distrusting the virtue of their own spiritual weapons, which were given them, if they be rightly called, with full warrant of sufficiency to pull down all thoughts and imaginations that exalt themselves against God. But while they taught compulsion without convincement, which, not long before, they complained of, as executed unchristianly against themselves, these intents are clear to have been no better than antichristian; setting up a spiritual tyranny, by a secular power, to the advancing of their own authority above the magistrate, whom they would have made their executioner, to punish church-delinquencies, whereof civil laws had no cognizance. And well did their disciples manifest themselves to be no better principled than their teachers; trusted with committee-ships, and other gainful offices, upon their commendations for zealous, and (as they sticked not to term them) godly men, but executing their places like children of the devil, unfaithfully, unjustly, unmercifully, and, where not corruptly, stupidly. So that between them the teachers, and these the disciples, there hath not been a more ignominious and mortal wound to faith, to piety, to the work of reformation, nor more cause of blasphemy given to the enemies of God and truth, since the first preaching of reformation[a]."——A stronger contrast, perhaps, never was than what is formed by these two passages of the same writer. However, in this latter, we may observe it is allowed they began well, though their after-deeds are represented as black, odious and detestable. Be they what they may, I am not concerned in their vindication. Those of them that fall in my way I will represent fairly, censure candidly, and leave them to the determination of the reader. That there was a glorious band of patriots in the house of commons, in the beginning of the long parliament, is too evident to be denied. Milton, by mentioning their actions,

[a] Milton's Prose Works, vol. II. p. 44.

his eyes, and therefore he adhered to their enemies in all their attacks on them: though he

known facts, has established their character beyond all contradiction. Elated by prosperity, influenced by the priesthood, ensnared by wealth and power, or heated by opposition, it is very possible many things were done by them which can never be justified, though allowances be made for times of disorder and confusion: more especially the permitting their clergy to tyrannize over the consciences of men, like the prelates that went before them. This latter, indeed, seems to have given Milton the greatest disgust, who was a mortal foe to the dominion of priests, and a zealous assertor of the rights of conscience. He could not bear that the same kind of men should complain of and exercise oppression; that those, in whose cause he had drawn his pen, should defeat all his hopes, and manifest that it was not liberty, but power, they had been contending for.

> Because you have thrown off your prelate lord,
> And with stiff vows renounc'd his liturgy,
> To seize the widow'd whore plurality,
> From them whose sin ye envied, not abhorr'd;
> Dare ye for this adjure the civil sword
> To force our consciences that Christ set free,
> And ride us with a classic hierarchy.——

Montesquieu seems to account well for a behaviour which appears at first sight so unnatural. "It is a principle," says he, "that every religion which is persecuted becomes itself persecuting; for as soon as by some accidental turn it arises from persecution, it attacks the religion which persecuted it; not as a religion, but as a tyranny[a]."

The parliament however rectified their conduct, even on this head, to the sore displeasure of the lordly presbyters, and kept them from misusing and oppressing their brethren. So that upon the whole, though they were not free from

[a] Spirit of Laws, vol. II. p. 180.

was far enough from having formed a plan of a different government. "I can tell you, Sirs,"

faults, yet were they, in the eyes of the knowing and unprejudiced, "the ablest noblest set of people this nation ever produced." But let us appeal to facts.—"When Van Tromp set upon Blake in Foleston-bay, the parliament had not above thirteen ships against threescore, and not a man that had ever seen any other fight at sea, than a merchant ship and a pyrate, to oppose the best captain in the world, attended with many others in valour and experience not much inferior to him. Many other difficulties were observed in the unsettled state: few ships, want of money, several factions, and some who to advance particular interests betrayed the publick. But such was the power of wisdom and integrity of those that set at the helm, and their diligence in chusing men only for their merit, was blessed with such success, that in two years our fleets grew to be as famous as our land armies; the reputation and power of our nation rose to a greater height, than when we possessed the better half of France, and the kings of France and Scotland were our prisoners. All the states, kings, and potentates of Europe, most respectfully, not to say submissively, sought our friendship; and Rome was more afraid of Blake, than they had been of the great king of Sweden, when he was ready to invade Italy with a hundred thousand men. This was the work of those, who, if our author [Filmer] say true, thought basely of the publick concernments; and believing things might be well enough managed by others, minded only their private affairs. These were the effects of the negligence and ignorance of those, who being suddenly advanced to offices, were removed before they understood the duties of them[a]." —Mr. Trenchard celebrates their actions in the following manner. "The parliament governed for five years, who made their name famous through the whole earth, conquer-

[a] Sidney of Government, p. 222. folio. Lond. 1698.

said he to Sir Thomas Chichely and Sir Philip Warwick, "what I would not have; though I cannot tell what I would[a]:" the case of many others I suppose at that time. He appeared very zealous for the remonstrance[15] of the state

of their enemies in England, Scotland, and Ireland; reduced the kingdom of Portugal to their own terms; recovered our reputation at sea; overcame the Dutch in several famous battles; secured our trade, and managed the publick expences with so much frugality, that no estates were gained by private men upon the publick miseries; and at last were passing an act for their own dissolution, and settling the nation in a free and impartial commonwealth; of which the army being afraid, thought it necessary to dissolve them[b]." The bare recital of these facts is an elogium sufficient: and every man who knows them to be facts, will be disposed to think favourably of those who performed them; and to contemn a writer who has the insolence and ill breeding (though a frequenter of courts and a lover of the polite arts) to call them "a pack of knaves[c]."

[15] The remonstrance of the state of the kingdom.] This remonstrance deserves very particular notice, as it occasioned high debates in the house of commons; divisions among the members, and perhaps hastened the resolution of the impeachment and intended seizure of the lord Kimbolton and the five members, which soon issued into a war between his majesty and the two houses. "The house of commons," says Whitlock, "prepared a remonstrance of the state of the kingdom; wherein they mentioned all the mistakes, misfortunes, illegalities, and defaults in government, since the king's coming to the crown, the evil counsels and counsellors, and a malignant party, that they have

[a] Warwick's Memoirs, p. 177.

[b] Short History of standing Armies, p. 19. 8vo. 1739. And notes 34, 35, 36. p. 204. 12mo. 1736.

[c] Lansdowne's Works, vol. II.

of the kingdom, which, after long and sharp debates, was carried in the house of commons, and ordered to be printed December 15th, 1641. On the sixth of this month he was appointed of a committee with Mr. Pymme, Mr.

no hopes of settling the distractions of this kingdom, for want of a concurrence with the lords. This remonstrance was somewhat roughly penned, both for the matter and the expressions in it, and met with great oppositions in the house; insomuch as the debate of it lasted from three o'clock in the afternoon, till ten o'clock the next morning; and the sitting up all night caused many through weakness or weariness to leave the house, and Sir B. R. [Sir Benjamin Rudyard I suppose] to compare it to the verdict of a starved jury[a]."

The truth is, this remonstrance contains a concise history of the enormities of Charles's government, the evil counsellors who had, and did guide him, and the mischiefs which they had been meditating against the house itself for their opposition to, and correction of, abuses. "The oppositions, obstructions and other difficulties," says the remonstrance, "wherewith we have been encountred, and which still lye in our way with some strength and much obstinacy, are these: The malignant party whom we have formerly described, to be the actors and promoters of all our misery, they have taken heart again; they have been able to prefer some of their own factors and agents to degrees of honor, to places of trust and employment even during the parliament. They have endeavoured to work in his majesty ill impressions and opinions of our proceedings, as if we had altogether done our own work, and not his, and have obtained from him many things very prejudicial to the crown, both in respect of prerogative and profit[b]."

[a] Whitlock's Memorials, p. 51.

[b] The Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom, p. 18. 4to. Lond. 1641.

Lisle, Sir Guy Palmes, lord Falkland, Mr. Strode, Sir John Strangeways, Sir *** Arnyn, *** Hide; to present some such course to the house, as may be fit to prevent all

Again—"They have sought, by many subtile practices, to cause jealousies and divisions betwixt us and our brethren of Scotland, by slandering their proceedings and intentions towards us; and by secret endeavours to instigate and incense them and us one against another. They have had such a party of bishops and popish lords in the house of peers as hath caused much opposition and delay in the prosecution of delinquents, hindered the proceedings of divers good bills passed in the commons house, concerning the reformation of sundry great abuses and corruptions both in church and state. They have laboured to seduce and corrupt some of the commons house, to draw them into conspiracies and combinations against the liberty of the parliament: and by their instruments and agents, they have attempted to disaffect and discontent his majesties army, and to engage it for the maintenance of their wicked and trayterous designs, the keeping up of bishops in their votes and functions, and by force to compel the parliament to order, limit and dispose their proceedings in such manner as might best concur with the intentions of this dangerous and potent faction. And when one mischievous design and attempt of theirs to bring on the army against the parliament and the city of London had been discovered and prevented, they presently undertook another of the same damnable nature, with this addition to it, to endeavour to make the Scottish army neutral, whilst the English army, which they had laboured to corrupt and invenome against us by their false and slanderous suggestions, should execute their malice to the subversion of our religion and the dissolution of our government. Thus they have been continually practising to disturb the peace, and plotting the destruction even of all the king's dominions, and have employed their

abuses in the election of members to serve in the house: and in particular to take into consideration the information given to the house, concerning the election at Arundel in Sussex [a]:

emissaries and agents in them all for the promoting of their devilish designs, which the vigilancy of those who were well affected hath still discovered, and defeated before they were ripe for execution in England and Scotland; only in Ireland, which was farther off, they have had time and opportunity to mould and prepare their work, and had brought it to that perfection, that they had possessed themselves of that whole kingdom—if their main enterprise upon the city and castle of Dublin had not been detected and prevented. ——And certainly, had not God, in his great mercy unto this land, discovered and confounded their former designs, we had been the prologue to this tragedy in Ireland, and had by this time been made the lamentable spectacle of misery and confusion [b]."——Lord Clarendon gives a large account of the passing this remonstrance, and among other particulars, the following: "They [the leading men in the house of commons] promised themselves they should easily carry it: so that the day it was to be resumed, they entertain'd the house all the morning with other debates, and towards noon call'd for the remonstrance; and it being urg'd by some, that it was too late to enter upon it, with much difficulty they consented, that it should be enter'd upon next morning at nine of the clock; and every clause should be debated; for they would not have the house resolv'd into a committee, which they believ'd would spend too much time. Oliver Cromwell (who at that time was little taken notice of) ask'd the lord Falkland, why he would have it put off, for that day would quickly have determined it? He answered, there would not have been time enough, for sure it would take some debate. The

[a] Journals of the House of Commons. [b] The Remonstrance, &c. p. 21.

as he was appointed of many others. So that what has been said of his being little known, or taken notice of in the beginning of this par-

other replied, A very sorry one: they supposing, by the computation they had made, that very few would oppose it." But he quickly found he was mistaken. For the debates, as appears from the quotation above from Whitlock, being very long, and the house consenting to adjourn, "As they went out of the house, the lord Falkland asked Oliver Cromwell whether there had been a debate? To which he answered, he would take his word another time; and whispered him in the ear, with some asseveration, that if the remonstrance had been rejected, he would have sold all he had the next morning, and never have seen England more; and he knew there were many other honest men of the same resolution. So near was the poor kingdom at that time to its deliverance[a]." This reflection is added by his lordship on account of the small majority by which the remonstrance passed, which he says was by nine voices and no more. It is but a trifle; but those who are very positive, should be exact. The numbers for passing the remonstrance were 159; against it, 148[b]; so it passed by eleven voices. Sir Ralph Hopton read and presented it to his majesty at Hampton-Court, who received him and those who accompanied him from the house well, but desired it might not be published till the house had his answer. But on the 15th of December following it was ordered to be printed by the commons, notwithstanding. The above anecdote indicates the temper and spirit of Cromwell, and clearly shews that he was determined no longer to submit to illegal rule.——The remonstrance itself was indeed a very bold thing, and little less than bidding Charles defiance: nor can it much be wondered at. They who put it on foot well knew they were the objects of

[a] Clarendon, vol. II. p. 312. [b] Journal, 22 Nov. 1641.

liament, must be without foundation.—When the civil war broke out, he adhered to the parliament, raised a troop of horse, whom he

his majesty's hatred and aversion. What he had attempted against them was apparent; what he intended, they conjectured, and, perhaps, more than he intended. They had no measures now to keep with him, and he used as little ceremony with them. For soon after followed his going to the house to seize those whom he deemed heads of the opposition; his departure from Whitehall; the disputes about the militia; the erecting his standard at Nottingham; in a word, the civil war. I cannot omit the following passages from Warwick; they shew the temper of the times, and the zeal which on both sides was exerted on this memorable occasion. "Upon the king's return out of Scotland, the city of London's splendid entertainment of him, and the discourses that flew in all parts, of the ample satisfaction the king had given (both which they foresaw, before it was put in execution) made them prepare so foul a remonstrance to give the king his first entertainment amongst them, that a blacker libel could not be framed either against his person or government; and it passed so tumultuously two or three nights before the king came to town, that at three of the clock in the morning, when they voted it, I thought, we had all sat in the valley of the shadow of death; for we, like Joab's and Abner's young men, had catched at each others locks, and sheathed our swords in each others bowels, had not the sagacity and great calmness of Mr. Hampden, by a short speech, prevented it, and led us to defer our angry debate until the next morning[a]." This passage does honor to Hampden's abilities. Mr. Hume says, "there are many gross falshoods in this remonstrance[b]:" he ought to have pointed them out, instead of inventing reasons, and suggesting them to have been offered for and against it.

[a] Warwick's Memoirs, p. 201. [b] History of Great Britain, vol. I. p. 306.

chose and [16] disciplined in such manner as rendered them terrible to their enemies, and

[16] He raised a troop of horse, whom he chose and disciplined in such a manner as rendered them terrible to their enemies, &c.] Cromwell adhered to the parliament out of principle and inclination. When therefore they found themselves in danger, and that a war was unavoidable, they put themselves in the best posture of defence, and gave commissions to such members as well as others, as seemed most hearty in the cause. The earl of Essex, the earl of Bedford, the earl of Stamford, lord Willoughby of Parham, the earl of Denbigh, lord St. John, with others of the nobility, accepted commissions, and set themselves with zeal to levy forces to support their cause. Hampden and Holles refused not to bear arms, but raised regiments, placed themselves at their head, and encountered the enemy in the field. As did Sir Philip Stapylton and many others of that brave body. To these joined themselves some young gentlemen of rank and fortune, from a sense of duty and fidelity to their country. Mr. Ludlow, who was undoubtedly an honest man, delivers his own sense of it at that time in the following manner. "I thought it my duty, upon consideration of my age and vigorous constitution, as an Englishman, and an invitation to that purpose from my father, to enter into the service of my country, in the army commanded by the earl of Essex, under the authority of the parliament. I thought the justice of that cause I had engaged in to be so evident, that I could not imagine it to be attended with much difficulty. For though I supposed that many of the clergy, who had been the principal authors of our miseries, together with some of the courtiers, and such as absolutely depended on the king for their subsistence, as also some foreigners, would adhere to him; yet I could not think that many of the people, who had been long oppressed with heavy burdens, and now with great difficulty had obtained a parliament, composed of such persons as were willing to run all hazards to procure a lasting settlement for

advanced his own reputation. None perhaps were ever more remarkable for their courage,

the nation, would be either such enemies to themselves, or so ungrateful to those they had trusted, as not to stand by them to the utmost of their power: at least (though some might not have so much resolution and courage as to venture all with them, yet) that they would not be so treacherous and unworthy, to strengthen the hands of the enemy against those who had the laws of God, nature and reason, as well as those of the land, of their side. Soon after my engagement in this cause, I met with Mr. Richard Fiennes, son to the lord Say, and Mr. Charles Fleetwood, son to Sir Miles Fleetwood, then a member of the house of commons; with whom consulting, it was resolved by us to assemble as many young gentlemen of the inns of court, of which we then were, and others, as should be found disposed to this service, in order to be instructed together in the use of arms, to render ourselves fit and capable of acting in case there should be occasion to make use of us. To this end we procured a person experienced in military affairs to instruct us in the use of arms; and for some time we frequently met to exercise at the Artillery-Ground in London. And being informed that the parliament had resolved to raise a life guard for the earl of Essex, to consist of an hundred gentlemen, under the command of Sir Philip Stapelton a member of parliament, most of our company entered themselves therein, and made up the greatest part of the said guard; amongst whom were Mr. Richard Fiennes, Mr. Charles Fleetwood, afterwards lieutenant general, major general Harrison, colonel Nathaniel Rich, colonel Thomlinson, colonel Twisleton, colonel Boswell, major Whitby, and myself, with divers others[a]."——Nor was Cromwell behind hand in zeal for this cause, as appears from the following passages in the journals of the house of commons. "Whereas Mr. Cromwell hath sent down arms into the county of Cambridge, for the defence of that

[a] Ludlow, vol. I. p. 42, *& seq.*

sobriety and regularity. Indeed the whole army under his command, merited and ob-

county; it is this day ordered that Sir Dudley North shall forthwith pay to Mr. Cromwell one hundred pounds, which he hath received from Mr. Crane late high-sheriff of the county of Cambridge; which said hundred pounds the said Mr. Crane had remaining in his hands for coat and conduct money. Ordered that Mr. Cromwell do move the lord lieutenant for the county of Cambridge, to grant his deputation to some of the inhabitants of the town of Cambridge to train and exercise the inhabitants of that town." This was July 15, 1642. The exact time of his taking a commission I cannot find, though I have looked into many writers for that purpose: it must however have been in the very beginnings of the civil war. For on the 15th of Aug. 1642, Sir Philip Stapelton gave an account in the house, from the committee for the defence of the kingdom, that "Mr. Cromwell, in Cambridgeshire, had seized the magazine in the castle at Cambridge; and had hindered the carrying of the plate from that university. And on the 18th of August a committee was appointed to prepare an order for the indemnity of Mr. Cromwell, and Mr. Walton, and those that have or shall assist them in the stopping of the plate that was going from Cambridge to York[a]."—The first rank he held in the army it is agreed on all hands was that of captain of a troop of horse, which he rose and disciplined after such a manner as rendered them, as well as their after companions, the objects of wonder, admiration, and applause of writers of all parties, in our divided country. Let us hear their testimonies. "At his first entrance into the wars, being but captain of horse, he had a special care to get religious men into his troop: these men were of greater understanding than common soldiers, and therefore were more apprehensive of the importance and consequence of the war; and making not money, but that which they took for

[a] Journals.

tained the highest character.—The first action that Cromwell undertook was to secure the

the publick felicity to be their end, they were the more engaged to be valient; for he that maketh money his end, doth esteem his life above his pay, and therefore is like enough to save it by flight, when danger comes, if possibly he can: but he that maketh the felicity of church and state his end, esteemeth it above his life, and therefore will the sooner lay down his life for it. And men of parts and understanding know how to manage their business, and know that flying is the surest way to death, and that standing to it is the likeliest way to escape; there being many usually that fall in flight, for one that falls in valient fight. These things, it is probable, Cromwell understood; and that none would be such engaged valient men as the religious: But yet I conjecture, that at his first choosing such men into his troop, it was the very esteem and love of religious men that principally moved him; and the avoiding of those disorders, mutinies, plunderings and grievances of the country, which deboist men in armies are commonly guilty of: by this means indeed he sped better than he expected. Aires, Desborough, Berry, Evanson, and the rest of that troop, did prove so valient, that as far as I could learn, they never once ran away before an enemy. Hereupon he got a commission to take some care of the associated counties, where he brought this troop, into a double regiment, of fourteen full troops; and all these as full of religious men as he could get: these having more than ordinary wit and resolution, had more than ordinary success[a]."—— Cromwell's own account will confirm this. "I was a person," says he, "that from my first employment was suddenly preferred, and lifted up from lesser trusts to greater, from my first being a captain of a troop of horse, and I did labour (as well as I could) to discharge my trust, and God blessed me as it pleased him, and I did truly and plainly, and then in a way of foolish simplicity (as it was judged by

[a] Reliquiæ Baxterianæ, p. 58.

town of Cambridge, for the parliament. As the king had requested a supply of money

verie great and wise men, and good men too) desired to make use of my instruments to help me in this work; and I will deal plainly with you, I had a verie worthy friend then, and he was a verie noble person, and I know his memorie was verie grateful to you all. Mr. John Hampden, at my first going out into this engagement, (I saw) their men were beaten at every hand; I did indeed, and I desired him that he would make some additions to my lord Essex's armie, of some regiments, and I told him I would be serviceable to him, in bringing such men in, as I thought had a spirit, that would do something in the work: this is very true that I tell you, God knows that I lie not. Your troops, said I, are most of them old decayed serving-men and tapsters, and such kind of fellows; and, said I, their troops are gentlemens sons, younger sons, and persons of quality, do you think that the spirits of such base and mean fellows will be ever able to encounter gentlemen, that have honour and courage and resolution in them? Truly I presented him in this manner conscienciously, and truly I did tell him, you must get men of a spirit, and take it not ill what I say, (I know you will not) of a spirit that is likely to go on as far as gentlemen will go, or else I am sure you will be beaten still; I told him so, I did truly. He was a wise and worthy person, and he did think that I talked a good notion, but an impracticable one; truly I told him I could do somewhat in it, I did so, and truly I must needs say that to you (impart it to what you please) I raised such men as had the fear of God before them, and made some conscience of what they did, and from that day forward, I must say to you, they were never beaten, and wherever they were engaged against the enemy, they beat continually [a]."

[a] Monarchy asserted to be the best form of government, in a conference at Whitehall between Oliver and a committee of parliament, p. 38. Lond. 8vo. 1660.

from the University, and intimated his desire of their plate; for its better security, they

—This religion of Oliver and his troops, whatever it was, gave matter for raillery to the cavaliers. "As for Noll Cromwell," said Marchamont Needham, "he is gone forth in the might of his spirit, with all his train of disciples; every one of whom is as David, a man of war, and a prophet; gifted men all, that resolve to their work better than any of the sons of Levi, and run quite through Wales with their two edged swords, to convert the gentiles[a]." I know not what others may think, but in my opinion the character given by Cromwell to his soldiers of religious men, and such as had the fear of God, will be at least as much to their honour in the eyes of posterity, as that which is contained in the following passage is to the soldiery of——in much more modern times. "It was remarkable in the late war, that when all the different nations which composed the confederate army, were performing their daily devotions, the ——soldiers only, seemed to have no sense of the being of a God[b]." This gentleman does not say these daring men were never beaten, or that they continually beat! The following passage from Whitlock is too remarkable to be neglected. "Cromwell——had a brave regiment of horse of his countrymen, most of them free-holders, and free-holders sons, and who upon matter of conscience, engaged in this quarrel, and under Cromwell. And thus being well armed within, by the satisfaction of their own consciences, and without, by good iron arms, they would, as one man, stand firmly, and charge desperately[c]."——Cromwell is celebrated for his manner of disciplining his soldiers even by an enemy. "Hi autem initio nec arma tractandi nec equos gnari, diligentiâ solertiâque bellatores acerrimi evaserunt; equis etenim curandis, nutriendis ac detergendis indies assuefacti sunt, & si opus foret simul humi cubando; arma

[a] Mercurius pragmaticus, May 30, 1648. [b] Hanway's Travels, vol. I. p. 73, in the note. 4to. Lond. 1753. [c] Whitlock's Memorials, p. 72.

packed up the same, but were prevented from

insuper polire, nitida & usui expedita servare, loricas optimas induere, séque cætero armaturæ genere communire condocefecerat eos Cromwellius. Atque hoc exercitii militaris genere, præ reliquis commilitonum omnibus emicuêre virtute bellica, plurésque ab hoste palmas reportârunt[a]." i. e. "His men, who in the beginning were unskilful both in handling their arms, and managing their horses, by diligence and industry became excellent soldiers; for Cromwell used them daily to look after, feed and dress their horses; and, when it was needful, to lie together with them on the ground; and besides, taught them to clean and keep their arms bright, and have them ready for service; to chuse the best armour, and to arm themselves to the best advantage. Trained up in this kind of military exercise, they excelled all their fellow soldiers in feats of war, and obtained more victories over their enemies." The following stratagem to try the courage of his troopers in the beginning of the war is related by more than one writer. "Upon the first muster of his troop, having privily placed twelve resolute men in an ambuscado (it being near some of the king's garrisons) upon a signal, on the appointed time, and the said ambush with a trumpet sounding, galloped furiously to the body, out of which some twenty instantly fled out of fear and dismay, and were glad the forfeiture was so cheap and easy; and ashamed of their childish and disgraceful deserting of their station and colours, had not the confidence to request their continuance in his service, or deny or scruple the rendring their horses to them who should fight the Lord's battle in their stead[b]." I am no judge of military affairs: but I think it is a maxim "that good discipline makes good soldiers." Cromwell was quite exact in this, and the behaviour of his army was such as merited the greatest praise, even abstracted from its valour. Let us

[a] Bates's Elenchi, p. 220. pars 2da. [b] Flagellum, or the Life, &c. of Oliver Cromwell, p. 24. 12mo. Lond. 1663. Perfect Politician, or a full View of the Life of Oliver Cromwell, p. 1. 8vo. Lond. 1680.

sending it, by the diligence of Oliver, who

hear an eye witness: a panegyrist he is; but on this occasion seems to have adhered pretty much to the truth.—— "Quicquid effuciunt in te dementes Olivari, nauci non facio, religiosissimum imperatorem, religionis mediis in exercitibus defensorem, protectorem, propagatorem, nemo nisi laudum tuarum supra modum invidus hìc reperitur, qui te non suspexerit, admiratus fuerit, observantiâ summâ non coluerit. Enim vero ubinam terrarum tàm religiosus visus est imperator, tamquè religiosus exercitus? Miratus ego sum, varias Angliæ provincias tunc pro negotiorum meorum, vel principis mei Serenissimi Ducis Gueldriæ Comitis Hæcmundæ necessitate peragrans, casquè militibus tuis refertàs, ita quietas, tranquillas, pacatas, quasi nè unus quidem in illis miles esset, sic addictas pietati, quasi monachorum non militum legiones in pagis ipsarum dispersæ degerent. Ita certa singulis diebus tùm fundendis Deo precibus, tùm audiendis Dei præconiis, erant assignata tempora, milites ipsos adeo modestos, nihilque nisi Deum, pietatem, religionem, virtutem respirantes, ut ingenuè fatear cum stupore non mediocri sæpè suspexi. Atque ne putet hìc aliquis velle me blandiri, oleum Olivario divendere, vel in illius aures instillare, testem Deum adhibeo, quod sæpissime præsidiarios Olivarii, modò suprâ dictò milites adiens, ne vel inverecundum verbulum unquam ab ullius ex illis ore perceperim, jusjurandumque nullum, sed meram humanitatem, urbanitatem, pietatem, verecundiam, modestiam animadverterim. Unde nequaquam in Olivarii militibus locum habere potest quod de omnibus aliis jampridem decantatum est,

"Nulla fides pietasquè viris qui castra sequuntur,

"Sed de illis dicendum potius est,

"Multa fides pietasquè viris qui castra sequuntur[a]."

Warwick, speaking of his army, says, "they had all either naturally the phanatick humour, or soon imbibed it: a

[a] Parallelum Olivarii non Olivarii per Lud. de Gand. Dem. de Brachey, &c. Lond. 1656. folio.

on this, as well as other occasions, shewed

herd of this sort of men being by him drawn together, he ——made use of the zeal and credulity of those persons, teaching them, as they too readily taught themselves, that they engaged for God, when he led them against his vicegerent the king: and where this opinion met with a natural courage, it made them the bolder, and too oftner the crueller: for it was such a sort of men, as killed brave young Cavendish and many others, after quarter given, in cold blood. And these men, habited more to spiritual pride than carnal riot or intemperance, so consequently having been industrious and active in their former callings, and professions, where natural courage wanted, zeal supplied its place; and at first they chose rather to dye than fly; and custom removed fear of danger: and afterwards finding the sweet of good pay, and of opulent plunder, and of preferment, suitable to activity and merit; the lucrative part made gain seem to them a natural member of godliness [a]." Though many shades are thrown into Warwick's picture, it is still beautiful in comparison of "a dissolute, undisciplined, wicked beaten army," which Clarendon tells us the king's was, when lord Hopton took its command: "an army, whose horse," he says, "their friends feared, and their enemies laughed at; being terrible only in plunder, and resolute in running away [b]." Such would not have been entertained by Cromwell. I shall close this note with the last writer's character of Cromwell's army, given before both houses of parliament, Sept. 13, 1660: I say Cromwell's army, for it is well known they were the same men, for the most part, who had been formed by him, and fought under his banners. "No other prince," says the chancellor, "in Europe, would be willing to disband such an army; an army to which victory is entailed, and which, humanly speaking, could hardly fail of conquest whithersoever he should lead it.—An army whose order and discipline, whose

[a] Warwick's Memoirs, p. 252. [b] Clarendon, vol. IV. p. 720.

himself an active partisan[17]. In the course

sobriety and manners, whose courage and success hath made it famous and terrible over the world.——His majesty knows they are too good Englishmen to wish that a standing army should be kept up in the bowels of their own country; that they who did but in *Bello pacis gerere negotium*, and who whilst an army lived like good husbandmen in the country, and good citizens in the city, will now become really such, and take delight in the benefit of that peace, they have so honestly and so wonderfully brought to pass[a]." What an elogium, before those who were best of all able to judge of its truth and propriety! Nothing after this can be added.

[17] They were prevented by the diligence of Oliver, who shewed himself an active partisan.] I intend not to particularize the military exploits of Cromwell, they are sufficiently known. Europe sounded with them; and they will be long talked of. However, as this was his first exploit, it may merit some attention, as well as rectify some mistakes. Great complaint is made of him in the *Querela Cantabrigiensis*, in the following words: "Master Cromwell, burgess for the town of Cambridge, and then newly turned a man of war, was sent down by his masters above, at the invitation of his masters below (as himself confessed) to gather what strength he could to stop all passages that no plate might be sent: but his designs being frustrated, and his opinion as of an active subtile man, thereby somewhat shaken and endangered, he hath ever since bent himself to work what revenge and mischief he could against us. In pursuit whereof, before that month was expired, down he comes again in a terrible manner with what forces he could draw together, and surrounds divers colleges, while we were at our devotion in our several chappels, taking away prisoners, several doctors of divinity, heads of colleges,

[a] Lives of the Lord Chancellors, vol. II. p. 126, 8vo. Lond. 1712. As high a character is given of these men in the continuation of the Life of Clarendon, vol. II. p. 40.

of the war he gave full proof of his bravery and good conduct: at Marston-Moor he turned the fortune of the day, and thereby obtained

——and these he carries with him to London in triumph[a]." This story is repeated by the editor of Dr. Barwick's life, but by the extract from the journals, in the foregoing note, it appears that his design of stopping the plate intended for the king, was not frustrated, and therefore the former part of the story must be without foundation. May writes, that "the first action Cromwell undertook was to secure the town of Cambridge for the parliament, about the middle of January. Universities of all places were most apt to adhere to the king's party, esteeming parliaments, and especially this, the greatest depressors of that ecclesiastical dignity, in hope of which they are there nurtured. Upon which reason they were packing up a large quantity of the plate that belonged to all the colleges, to send it away to the king, which would have made a considerable sum. This was foreseen by Cromwell; who by a commission from the parliament, and lord general Essex, had raised a troop of horse, and came down into that country, with authority to raise more forces as occasion served; he came to Cambridge soon enough to seize upon that plate[b]."— What the quantity of plate in the whole was, which was packed up for the king, appears not: but the particular pieces sent from St. John's College for the purpose, amounted to two thousand sixty-five ounces and three-fourths[c]. So that probably the whole was a good booty. But Cromwell seldom did things by halves. "Whilst I was about Huntington, visiting old Sir Oliver Cromwell, his uncle and godfather, at his house at Ramsey, he told me this story of his successful nephew and god-son; that he visited him with a good strong party of horse, and that he had

[a] Querela Cantabrigiensis, 8vo. p. 182. Lond. 1685.
[b] May's History of the Parliament, b. III. p. 79. folio. Lond. 1647.
[c] Barwick's Life, p. 24. 8vo. Lond. 1724.

great honour to himself, and advantage to his masters. His courage notwithstanding has been called in question[18]: I have no need to say,

asked him his blessing, and that the few hours he was there, he would not keep on his hat in his presence; but at the same time, he not only disarmed, but plundered him: for he took away all his plate[a]." This was in character: the uncle was treated with proper respect; the cavalier prevented from doing mischief! Cromwell well understood his duty.

[18] His courage however has been called in question.] It has been observed that there is no opinion so absurd as not to have been embraced by some men. The imputation of cowardice to Cromwell would not easily have been thought on, by those who had seen or heard of his exploits. But prejudice works wonders, and in a trice levels or exalts characters in the eyes of even wise and understanding men. Lord Holles was undoubtedly of this number; but being opposed and oppressed by Cromwell and his party, he could see nothing to admire, but every thing to blame in him. "He engaged in a particular opposition to Cromwell," says Burnet, "in the time of the war: they hated one another equally. Holles seemed to carry this too far, for he would not allow Cromwell to have been either wise or brave; but often applied Solomon's observation to him, that the battle was not to the strong, nor favour to the man of understanding, but that time and chance happened to to all men[b]." A fine way of levelling the acts of heroes!—But let us hear Holles himself. "However lieutenant general Cromwell had the impudence and boldness to assume much of the honor of it [the victory at Marston-Moor, in July, 1644] to himself, or rather, Herod like, to suffer others to magnify and adore him for it (for I can scarce believe he should be so impudent to give it out himself, so conscious as he must be of his own base

[a] Warwick, p. 251. [b] Burnet, vol. I. p. 154.

without reason. — His success procured him friends and reputation; but at the same time

cowardliness) those who did the principal service that day, were major general Lesly, who commanded the Scots horse, major general Crawford, who was major general to the earl of Manchester's brigade, and Sir Thomas Fairfax, who, under his father, commanded the northern brigade. But my friend Cromwell had neither part nor lott in the business: for I have several times heard it from Crawford's own mouth (and I think I shall not be mistaken if I say Cromwell himself has heard it from him; for he once said it aloud in Westminster-hall, when Cromwell passed by him, with a design he might hear him) that when the whole army at Marston-Moor was in a fair possibility to be utterly routed, and a great part of it running, he saw the body of horse of that brigade standing still, and to his seeming doubtful which way to charge backward or forward, when he came up to them in a great passion, reviling them with the names of poltroons and cowards, and asked them if they would stand still and see the day lost? Whereupon Cromwell shewed himself, and in a pitiful voice said, 'Major general, what shall I do?' He (begging pardon for what he said, not knowing he was there, towards whom he knew his distance as to his superior officer) told him, 'Sir, if you charge not, all is lost;' Cromwell answered he was wounded, and was not able to charge (his great wound being a little burn in the neck by the accidental going off behind him of one of his soldiers' pistols); then Crawford desired him to go off the field, and sending one away with him (who very readily followed wholesome advice) led them on himself, which was not the duty of his place, and as little for Cromwell's honor, as it proved to be much for the advancement of his and parties pernicious designs. This I have but by relation, yet I easily believe it upon the credit of the reporter, who was a man of honor, that was not ashamed or afraid to publish it in all places. Besides I have heard a parallel story of his valour from another person

it was attended with the envy and hatred[19] of very powerful persons, whom he soon got the

[colonel Dalbier] not inferiour, neither in quality nor reputation, to major general Crawford, who told me, that when Basing House was stormed, Cromwell, instead of leading on his men, stood a good distance off, out of gun-shot, behind a hedge. And something I can deliver of him upon my own knowledge, which makes passage for the easier belief of both these relations, and assures me that that man is as errand a coward, as he is notoriously perfidious, ambitious, and hypocritical. This was his base keeping out of the field at Keinton battle; where he with his troop of horse came not in, impudently and ridiculously affirming, the day after, that he had been all that day seeking the army and place of fight, though his quarters were but at a village near hand, whence he could not find his way, nor be directed by his ear; when the ordnance was heard, as I have been credibly informed, 20 or 30 miles off; so that certainly he is far from the man he is taken for[a]." Mr. Walpole, referring to this passage, says "from the extream good sense of his lordship's speeches and letters, one should not have expected that weak attempt to blast Cromwell for a coward. How a judicatory in the temple of fame would laugh at such witnesses as major general Crawford and a colonel Dalbier! Cæsar and Cromwell are not amenable to a commission of oyer and terminer[b]."

[19] His success was attended with the envy and hatred of very powerful persons.] The following passages will enable the reader to understand this. "Colonel Cromwell being made lieutenant general of the earl of Manchester's army, to the great satisfaction to the commons touching the business of Donnington castle, and seemed (but cautiously enough) to lay more blame on the officers of the lord general's army, than upon any other. And the point of privi-

[a] Hall's Memoirs, p. 15. & seq. 8vo. Lond. 1699. [b] Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors, vol. II. p. 32.

better of, by craft, dissimulation, hypocrisy,

ledge was debated touching the lords transmitting of a charge from them, before it was brought up to them. This reflected upon lieutenant general Cromwell, of whom the lord general now began to have some jealousies, and was advised to put to his strength to rid Cromwell out of the way, and the means to be used to effect this, was supposed to be by the Scots commissioners, who were not well pleased with Cromwell upon some words which he had spoken (as they apprehended) derogatory to the honor of their nation. One evening very late, Maynard and I were sent for by the lord general to Essex-house, and there was no excuse to be admitted, nor did we know beforehand the occasion of our being sent for: when we came to Essex-house, we were brought to the lord general, and with him were the Scots commissioners, Mr. Hollis, Sir Philip Stapylton, Sir John Meyrick, and divers others of his special friends. After compliments, and that all were set down in council, the lord general, in general terms having mentioned his having sent for them on important business, desired the lord chancellor of Scotland to enter into the detail, which he did in the following manner: Master Maynard and master Whitlock, I can assure you of the great opinion both my brethren and myself have of your worth and abilities, else we should not have desired this meeting with you, and since it is his excellency's pleasure that I should acquaint you with the matter upon whilke your counsel is desired, I shall obey his commands, and briefly recite the business to you. You ken vary weel that lieutenant general Cromwell is no friend of ours, and since the advance of our army into England, he hath used all underhand and cunning means to take off from our honor and merit of this kingdom; an evil requital of all our hazards and services: but so it is, and we are nevertheless fully satisfied of the affections and gratitude of the guae people of this nation in the general. It is thought requisite for us, and for the carrying on of the cause of the tway kingdoms, that this obstacle or remora may be removed out of the way,

and the usual arts of men bent on defeating the

whom we foresee will otherwise be no small impediment to us, and the gude design we have undertaken. He not only is no friend to us, and the government of our church, but he is also no well-willer to his excellency, whom you and we all have cause to love and honour; and if he be permitted to go on in his ways, it may, I fear, endanger the whole business; therefore we are to advise of some course to be taken for prevention of that mischief. You ken very wele the accord 'twixt the twa kingdoms, and the union by the solemn league and covenant, and if any be an incendiary between the twa nations, how is he to be proceeded against: Now the matter is, wherein we desire your opinions, what you tak the meaning of this word incendiary to be, and whether lieutenant general Cromwell be not sicke an incendiary, as is meant thereby, and whilke way wud be best to tak to proceed against him, if he be proved to be sicke an incendiary, and that will clepe his wings from soaring to the prejudice of our cause. Now you may ken that by our law in Scotland we clepe him an incendiary whay kindleth coals of contention, and raiseth differences in the state to the publick damage, and he is *tanquam publicus hostis patriæ;* whether your law be the same or not, you ken best who are mickle learned therein, and therefore with the favour of his excellency we desire your judgments in these points[a]."

Whitlock in answer hereunto observed, "that the sense of the word incendiary was the same in both nations; but whether Cromwell was one depended on proofs; if proofs were wanting, he was none: if such were at hand, he might be proceeded against in parliament." He moreover observed, that it became not persons of their honour and authority to appear in any business, especially of an accusation, but such as they saw could be clearly made out, and be brought to the effect intended. Cromwell's parts were then described; his interest in the house of commons, and even in the

[a] Whitlock's Memorials, p. 116.

designs of their foes, and advancing their

house of peers, and his abilities to manage his own defence to the best advantage. He advised therefore that the matter for the present might be dropt; that the proofs against him might be collected, and then they might consult and advise afresh. Maynard concurring in the same opinion, the affair was at a stand, and nothing came of it: "though Mr. Hollis, and Sir Philip Stapylton, and some others, spake smartly to the business, and mentioned some particular passages, and words of Cromwell's tending to prove him to be an incendiary; and they did not apprehend his interest in the house of commons to be so much as was supposed; and they would willingly have been upon the accusation of him[a]." This was at the latter end of the year 1644. Mr. Whitlock closes his account of this remarkable conversation with the following words: "I had some cause to believe, that at this debate, some who were present, were false brethren, and informed Cromwell of all that passed among us, and after that Cromwell, though he took no notice of any particular passages at that time, yet he seemed more kind to me and Mr. Maynard than he had been formerly, and carried on his design more actively of making way for his own advancement[b]." This was the fate of Cromwell: envy followed his great deeds, and deep designs were laid for clipping his wings, ere he seemed to have done any thing to have deserved such treatment. We need not wonder after this, that he opposed the Scots, Essex and Hollis, and that they entertained a deadly hatred of him.——The charge advanced against Cromwell here, was that he was no friend to the Scots, and the government of their church, and no well-wisher to lord Essex. The charge indeed might be true enough; though a poor foundation for a parliamentary prosecution, at least if justice had taken place. Probable it is he thought the business in which he was engaged might have been done without the Scots; that they might bring

[a] Whitlock's Memorials, p. 117. [b] Id. ibid.

own; by deep dissimulation, I say, and his

about a peace in conjunction with Essex, very different from his wishes; and as for their church government, he, with many other sensible men, had a great disrelish of it. It is well enough known, that when the parliament applied for assistance to the Scots, it was granted among other things upon condition of their taking a solemn league and covenant together with the Scottish nation, whereby they bound themselves among other particulars, "to endeavour to bring the churches of God, in the three kingdoms, to the nearest conjunction and uniformity in religion, confession of faith, form of church government, directory for worship and catechizing. And in like manner, without respect of persons, to endeavour the extirpation of popery, prelacy, (that is church government by arch-bishops, bishops, their chancellors and commissaries, deans, deans and chapters, arch-deacons, and all other ecclesiastical officers depending on that hierarchy) superstition, heresy, schism, profaneness, and whatsoever shall be found to be contrary to sound doctrine and the power of godliness.——And they were also by the same covenant to endeavour with their estates and lives mutually to preserve the rights and priviledges of the parliaments, and the liberties of the kingdoms: and to preserve and defend the king's majesty's person and authority, in the preservation and defence of the true religion and liberties of the kingdoms, that the world might bear witness of their loyalty, and that they had no thoughts or intentions to diminish his majesty's just power and greatness[a]." This covenant was taken by both houses of parliament, Sept. 25, 1643, and all the officers of the army were strictly enjoined to do the same, as well as the people throughout the kingdom. Cromwell therefore must have taken it; but in the same manner as men take many other things, much against his mind, though he had art enough then to conceal his dislike: for it cannot be thought but it must be very dis-

[a] Parliamentary History, vol. XII. p. 397. 8vo. Lond. 1753.

interest in the army [20], and the house of com-

agreeable to him to be bound to introduce a discipline his large soul abhorred, and to preserve and defend a prince whom he was to fight against, and whose power and greatness were the objects of his dread. In short Cromwell came not into the schemes of the Scots, either religious or political, and consequently was hated by them.

[20] By craft, dissimulation and hypocrisy, he got the better of his foes.] No man was ever more taxed with hypocrisy and dissimulation than Cromwell: his enemies were continually reproaching him with it; his friends could not deny it; and the truth of history requires it should be fully laid open. For every thing is useful: vices and follies instruct as well as virtues: though wise men only profit by them.—— Let us hear the accusations against Oliver on this head. "If craft be wisdom," says Mr. Cowley, "and dissimulation wit (assisted both and improved with hypocrisies and perjuries) I must not deny him to have been singular in both; but so gross was the manner in which he made use of them, that as wise men ought not to have believed him at first, so no man was fool enough to believe him at last; neither did any man seem to do it, but those who thought they gained as much by that dissembling, as he did by his. His very actings of godliness grew at last as ridiculous, as if a player by putting on a gown, should think he represented excellently a woman, though his beard at the same time were seen by all the spectators. If you ask me why they did not hiss, and explode him off the stage, I can only answer, that they durst not do so, because the actors and door-keepers were too strong for the company. I must confess that by these arts (how grossly soever managed, as by hypocritical praying, and silly preaching, by unmanly tears and whinings, by falshoods and perjuries (even diabolical), he had at first the good fortune, (as men call it, that is the ill fortune), to attain his ends; but it was because his ends were so unreasonable, that no human wisdom could foresee them; which made them who had to do with him believe that he was rather a well-mean-

mons, he got the better of all his foes; for it

ing and deluded bigot, than a crafty and malicious impostor[a]." Another writer who also lived in Cromwell's time, and wrote when he was in the height of his power, expresses himself in the following manner: "Had not his highness had a faculty to be fluent in his tears, and eloquent in his execrations; had he not had spongie eyes, and a supple conscience; and besides to do with people of great faith, but little wit: his courage, and the rest of his moral virtues, with the help of his janissaries, had never been able so far to advance him out of the reach of justice, that we should have need to call for any other hand to remove him, but that of the hangman[b]." And again—"He hath found indeed that in godliness there is great gain; and that preaching and praying well managed, will obtain other kingdoms, as well as that of heaven. His indeed have been pious arms; for he hath conquered most by those of the church, by prayers and tears. But the truth is, were it not for our honor to be governed by one that can manage both the spiritual and temporal sword, and, Roman like, to have our emperor our high priest, we might have had preaching at a much cheaper rate, and it would have cost us but our tythes, which now costs us all[c]." These are general declamations. Let us see what facts there are to support them. Lord Holles speaking of the mutiny in the army on account of some regiments being ordered to go to Ireland, by the parliament, has the following passages: "When they [the officers] had wrought the feat, Sir Thomas Fairfax himself came to London upon pretence of taking physick; Cromwell, Ireton, Fleetwood,

[a] Cowley's Discourse concerning Oliver Cromwell, p. 38.

[b] Killing no Murder, p. 6. 4to. Lond. 1689. Killing no Murder has been almost universally given to Colonel Titus. But in a narrative touching Colonel Edward Sexby, [of whom there is an account in Clarendon, vol. VI. p. 640] who lately died a prisoner in the Tower, dated Jan. 20, 1657. O. S. it is said, "that he owned the book called Killing no Murder; and said he was still of that judgment." See Mercurius Politicus, No. 399. p. 252. and Thurloe, vol. VI. p. 561.

[c] Killing no Murder, p. 8.

was unsafe, as well as unpopular, to attack a

Rainsborough, who were members of the house of commons as well as principal officers of the army, keep the house, that the soldiers might be left to themselves to fire the more, run up to extreams, and put themselves into a posture to carry on their work of rebellion with a high and violent hand, which had been so handsomely done: for either they must have appeared in it, and joined with the soldiers, which had been too gross, or have stopped it in the beginning, crushed the serpent in the egg, which had been most easy, but was contrary to their design. So now they give the business time to foment, and the rebellion to grow to some head, that afterwards when they should come amongst them (for they could not but expect the parliament would send them down) they might seem to be carryed with the violence, and to give some way for preventing greater inconveniencies, and to keep them from extremities till the monster was formed, and got to that strength as to protect itself and them, when they might without danger declare for it, which they afterwards did. In the mean time disclaiming it, blaming the soldiers at that distance (as Cromwell did openly in the house, protesting, for his part, he would stick to the parliament) whilst underhand they sent them encouragements and directions; for nothing was done there, but by advice and countenance from London, where the whole business was so laid, the rebellion resolved upon, and the officers that were in town so deeply engaged, that when the full time was come for putting things in execution, my friend Cromwell, who had been sent down by the parliament to do good offices, was come up again without doing any, and he who had made those solemn protestations with some great imprecations on himself if he failed in his performance, did, notwithstanding, privily convey thence his goods (which many of the independants did likewise, leaving city and parliament as marked out for destruction) and then without leave of the house (after some members missing him and

man crowned with victories, and applauded

fearing him gone, had moved to have him sent for; whereupon he being, as it seems, not yet gone; and having notice of it, came and shewed himself a little in the house) did steal away that evening, I may say run away post down to the army, and presently join in the subscription of a rebellious letter[a]."———Burnet relates the following anecdote on the authority of Sir Harbottle Grimston. "When the house of commons and the army were a quarelling, at a meeting of the officers it was proposed to purge the army better, that they might know whom to depend on. Cromwell upon that said, he was sure of the army; but there was another body that had more need of purging, naming the house of commons, and he thought the army only could do that. Two officers that were present brought an account of this to Grimston, who carried them with him to the lobby of the house of commons, they being resolved to justify it to the house. There was another debate then on foot; but Grimston diverted it, and said he had a matter of priviledge of the highest sort to lay before them: it was about the being and freedom of the house. So he charged Cromwell with the design of putting a force on the house. He had his witnesses at the door, and desired they might be examined. They were brought to the bar, and justified all that they had said to him, and gave a full relation of all that had passed at their meetings. When they withdrew, Cromwell fell down on his knees, and made a solemn prayer to God, attesting his innocence, and his zeal for the service of the house: he submitted himself to the providence of God, who it seems thought fit to exercise him with calumny and slander, but he submitted his cause to him. This he did with great vehemence, and with many tears. After this strange and bold preamble, he made so long a speech, justifying both himself and the rest of the officers, except a few that seemed inclined to

[a] Hollis's Memoirs, p. 46.

as a saint and an hero, by the soldiers and the people.

return back to Egypt, that he wearied out the house, and wrought so much on his party, that what the witnesses had said was so little believed, that had it been moved, Grimston thought that both he and they would have been sent to the Tower. But whether their guilt made them modest, or that they had no mind to have the matter much talked of, they let it fall: and there was no strength in the other side to carry it further. To complete the scene, as soon as ever Cromwell got out of the house, he resolved to trust himself no more amongst them; but went to the army, and in a few days he brought them up, and forced a great many from the house[a]." In a pamphlet entitled "A true narrative of the occasions and causes of the late lord general Cromwell's anger and indignation against lieutenant colonel George Joyce (sometimes cornet Joice) who secured the king at Holmby," reprinted in the eighth vol. of the Harleian Miscellany, we have several particulars, which shew how dextrously Cromwell managed his mask, and practised "one of the maxims which the devil, in a late visit upon earth, left to his disciples, which is, when once you are got up, to kick the stool from under you[b]." "After the king," says this writer, "was seized by Joice, notice was taken that Cromwell lifted up his hands in the parliament, and called God, angels, and men to witness that he knew nothing of Joyce's going for the king. Thereupon the said Joyce asked Cromwell what made him to speak such words? And whether he intended to do as the king had done before him, viz. swear and lye? And bid him mark what would be the end of such things; cautioning him to take heed and beware of such actions: but he slighted those warnings, and soon after flattered the said Joyce again with tears of repentance.——The said Joyce protesting against the purging of the parliament, was threatned by

[a] Burnet, vol. I. p. 67. [b] Tom Jones.

Though the parliament had in many places been successful, the war was like to continue:

Cromwell to be destroyed, and when he gave him reasons against dissolving the parliament he was very angry.—— Being about to buy Finkley Park in Hampshire, and having generously offered to part with all or any part of it again to Richard Cromwell; Oliver took him in his arms, and told him that himself, and his son, and family, were more beholden to him than to all the world besides, and therefore bad him go on and prosper. Upon this Joyce went the next morning about it, and there being a full committee [the Park belonged to the crown] he was just upon the point of contracting for the said Park, when on a sudden in came Richard, his father then overtopping all in power, with three lawyers with him, and required them to proceed no further in it, in regard it was his own inheritance, and no park, as was supposed. Whereupon Joyce informed the committee of the whole discourse that had passed between the general, his son, and himself the night before; upon which he fell upon him in foul words; saying Sirrah, sirrah, hold your tongue, or I shall make you repent the time you were born; which the committee perceiving, desired them to withdraw; and since that time never durst meddle with the park any further. Whereupon, and his bearing testimony against Cromwell's being made Protector, endeavours were used to ruin him. And to that purpose his lieutenant (who before had accused him, but could make nothing of it) was sent for by Cromwell, and encouraged to prosecute him again, and contrary to the custom and course of the army, privately appointed officers, and such as he could trust in such an affair, to take the lieutenant's then deposition against Joyce: and they took his deposition, who swore falsly that he should hear him say, that he was sorry that Lockyer had not pistolled Cromwell; and thereupon sent him to prison without bail, and order was given that he should be kept close prisoner, which accordingly was done; and afterwards cashiered. The lieutenant who

this was occasioned partly by the strength of

had prosecuted, applying to Cromwell for preferment as he had been promised, was told that he had not dealt like a Christian with Joyce: he thereupon replying, he had done nothing but what he had been commanded by him, was thrust out of his chamber by Cromwell, and bad go as a knave as he was[a]."

I will add a relation or two from Ludlow, who knew the man, and has drawn his character, in some things, with great exactness. Speaking concerning Fairfax's declining to command the army against the Scots, who were about to invade England in behalf of the title of Charles II. he goes on in the following manner: "Upon this lieutenant general Cromwell pressed, that notwithstanding the unwillingness of the lord Fairfax to command upon this occasion, they would yet continue him to be general of the army; professing for himself, that he would rather chuse to serve under him in his post, than to command the greatest army in Europe. But the council of state not approving that advice, appointed a committee of some of themselves to confer farther with the general in order to his satisfaction. This committee was appointed upon the motion of the lieutenant general, who acted his part so to the life, that I really thought him in earnest; which obliged me to step to him as he was withdrawing with the rest of the committee out of the council chamber, and to desire him, that he would not in compliment and humility obstruct the service of the nation by his refusal; but the consequence made it sufficiently evident that he had no such intention. The committee having spent some time in debate with the lord Fairfax without any success, returned to the council of state, whereupon they ordered the report of this affair to be made to the parliament. Which being done, and some of the general's friends informing them, that though he had shewed some unwillingness to be em-

[a] Harleian Miscellany, vol. VIII.

the king; partly by the divisions in parlia-

ployed in this expedition himself, yet being more unwilling to hinder the undertaking of it by another, he had sent his secretary, who attended at the door, to surrender his commission, if they thought fit to receive it; the secretary was called in, and delivered the commission, which the parliament having received, they proceeded to settle an annual revenue of five thousand pounds upon the lord Fairfax, in consideration of his former services, and then voted lieutenant general Cromwell to be captain general of all their land forces, ordering a commission forthwith to be drawn up to that effect, and referred to the council of state to hasten the preparations for the northern expedition. A little after as I sat in the house, near general Cromwell, he told me, that having observed an alteration in my looks and carriage towards him, he apprehended that I entertained some suspicions of him; and that being perswaded of the tendency of the designs of us both to the advancement of the publick service, he desired that a meeting might be appointed, wherein with freedom we might discover the grounds of our mistakes and misapprehensions, and create a good understanding between us for the future. I answered, that he discovered in me what I had never perceived in myself; and that if I troubled him not so frequently as formerly, it was either because I was conscious of that weight of business that lay upon him, or that I had nothing to importune him withal upon my own or any other account; yet since he was pleased to do me the honor to desire a free conversation with me, I assured him of my readiness therein. Whereupon we resolved to meet that afternoon in the council of state, and from thence to withdraw to a private room, which we did accordingly in the queen's guard-chamber, where he endeavoured to perswade me of the necessity incumbent upon him to do several things that appeared extraordinary in the judgment of some men, who in opposition to him took such courses as would bring ruin upon themselves, as well as him and the publick

ment, and among the commanders of their

cause, affirming his intentions to be directed entirely to the good of the people, and professing his readiness to sacrifice his life in their service. I freely acknowledged my former dissatisfaction with him and the rest of the army, when they were in treaty with the king, whom I looked upon as the only obstruction to the settlement of the nation; and with their actions at the rendevouz at Ware, where they shot a soldier to death, and imprisoned divers others upon the account of that treaty, which I conceived to have been done without authority, and for sinister ends. Yet since they had manifested themselves convinced of those errors, and declared their adherence to the commonwealth, tho' too partial a hand was carried both by the parliament and themselves, in the distribution of preferments and gratuities, and too much severity exercised against some who had formerly been their friends, and as I hoped would be so still, with other things that I could not entirely approve, I was contented patiently to wait for the accomplishment of those good things which I expected, till they had overcome the difficulties they now laboured under, and suppressed their enemies that appeared both abroad and at home against them; hoping that then their principles and interest should lead them to do what was most agreeable to the constitution of a commonwealth, and the good of mankind. He owned my dissatisfaction with the army whilst they were in treaty with the king, to be founded upon good reasons, and excused the execution done upon the soldier at the rendevouz, as absolutely necessary to keep things from falling into confusion; which must have ensued upon that division, if it had not been timely prevented. He professed to desire nothing more than that the government of the nation might be settled in a free and equal commonwealth, acknowledging that there was no other probable means to keep out the old family and government from returning upon us; declaring that he looked upon the design of the Lord in this day to be the freeing

armies; and probably also by a desire of ter-

of his people from every burden, and that he was now accomplishing what was prophesied in the 110th Psalm; from the consideration of which he was often encouraged to attend the effecting those ends, spending at least an hour in the exposition of that Psalm[a]."——Cromwell must have had a peculiar knack at dissimulation, when he was capable of thus imposing on Ludlow, who had many times before found himself deceived by him! And he must have been a master in this art, who could still deceive, and still find means to be trusted by the same persons: as trusted he was by the republican party, and many other honest men, till he broke through all forms, and boldly seized the sovereignty. The arts made use of to bring this about, will tend to heighten our idea of his capacity in this respect, and shew him in his true colours. "Though —— he eagerly coveted his own advancement, he thought it not convenient yet to unmask himself; but rather to make higher pretences to honesty, than ever he had done before, thereby to engage major general Harrison, colonel Rich, and their party to himself. To this end he took all occasions in their presence to asperse the parliament, as not designing to do those good things they pretended to; but rather intending to support the corrupt interests of the clergy and lawyers. And though he was convinced they were hastning with all expedition to put a period to their sitting, having passed a vote that they would do it within the space of a year, and that they were making all possible preparations in order to it; yet did he industriously publish, that they were so in love with their seats, that they would use all means to perpetuate themselves. These and other calumnies, he had with so much art insinuated into the belief of many honest and well-meaning people, that they began to wish him prosperity in his undertaking. Divers of the clergy from their pulpits began to prophecy the

[a] Ludlow, vol. I. p. 315.

minating the war rather by treaty than the

destruction of the parliament, and to propose it openly as a thing desirable. Insomuch that the general, who had all along concurred with this spirit in them, hypocritically complained to quarter-master Vernon, that he was pushed on by two parties to do that, the consideration of the issue whereof, made his hair to stand an end. One of these, said he, is headed by major general Lambert, who in revenge of that injury the parliament did him, in not permitting him to go into Ireland with a character and conditions suitable to his merit, will be contented with nothing less than their dissolution: of the other major general Harrison is the chief, who is an honest man, and aims at good things, yet from the impatience of his spirit will not wait the Lord's leizure, but hurries me on to do that which he and all honest men will have cause to repent. Thus," adds Ludlow, "did he craftily feel the pulse of men towards this work, endeavouring to cast the infamy of it on others, reserving to himself the appearance of tenderness to civil and religious liberty, and of skreening the nation from the fury of the parties before mentioned[a]." I have given these passages at length, to shew fully Cromwell's deep dissimulation. The reader may possibly be apt to ask, how these things were reconcileable with any real sense of religion, or common honesty and fair dealing? The answer is, that enthusiasm, to which Cromwell was subject, as I have made appear, is a very variable thing; it admits of much devotion and many crimes. Men who think themselves under the special and extraordinary influence of the Deity, attribute to him their feelings, sentiments and desires, and whatever proceeds from him, must be wise, just and good. And we are assured also, that "Cromwell and his adherents believed that there were great occasions, in which some men were called to great services, in the doing of which they were excused from the

[a] Ludlow, vol. II. p. 445.

sword.—But things soon took a very different

common rules of morality: such were the practices of Ehud and Jael, Samson and David: and by this they fancied they had a priviledge from observing the standing rules[a]." ——Besides, we are to consider Oliver as a politician, as a great man "who must be master of much artifice and knavery, his situation requiring him to employ, and to be employed by so many knaves; yet he must have some honesty, or those very knaves will be unwilling to trust him[b]." And it is not improbable Cromwell had learnt from Machiavel, whom he is by some said to have been well read in, "that men do seldom or never advance themselves from a small beginning to any great height, but by fraud or by force (unless they come to it by donation, or right of inheritance.) I do not think," adds he, "any instance is to be found where force alone brought any man to that grandeur, but fraud and artifice have done it many times, as is clear in the lives of Philip of Macedon, Agathocles the Sicilian, and several others, who from mean and inconsiderable extraction, came at length to be kings[c]." Accordingly the writers on politics observe, "that in the transacting of great affairs, the rules of morality admit of some relaxation; this is to be lamented, but not to be helped. Such frequently are the exigencies of a state, and such always the crookedness and depravity of the heart of man, that were you to deal openly, to tell all that you mean, all that you know, and all that you aim at, you would expose your country to ruin, and yourself to scorn, perhaps to the block. The most that can be done is to save appearances, and be wary of what expressions are used; for, upon these occasions, and many others, men are not to be upbraided for their silence[d]." —— De Sol's, speaking of the charge of horrible inhumanity brought against the Spaniards, says by way of reply, "We are not

[a] Burnet, vol. I. p. 68. [b] Nature and Origin of Evil, p. 150. 12mo. Lond. 1758. [c] Discourses on Livy, b. 2. c. 13. [d] Gordon's Discourses on Tacitus, vol. IV. p. 329. 12mo. Lond. 1753.

ignorant, that in some parts of the Indies, actions have been seen worthy of reprehension, indeed contrary both to piety and reason; but in what just and holy undertaking, has it not been necessary to pass by some inconveniences[a]." Thus, according to these writers, truth cannot be adhered to, at all times; piety and reason must be counteracted; and the necessity or importance of the end, render the means, be they what they may, justifiable! For my own part, I will not defend this reasoning. "Truth is a sweet thing," said some of the ancients: and every good man is of the same sentiment;——"Explica atque excute intelligentiam tuam, ut videas, quæ sit in ea species, forma, & notio viri boni. Cadit ergo in virum bonum mentiri emolumenti sui causâ, criminari præripere, fallere? Nihil profecto minùs. Est ergo ulla res tanti, aut commodum ullum tam expetendum, ut viri boni & splendorem, & nomen amittas? Quid est, quod afferre tantum utilitas ista, quæ dicitur, possit, quantum auferre, si boni viri nomen eripuerit, fidem justitiámque detraxerit? Quid enim interest, utrum ex homine se quis conferat in belluam, an in hominis figura immanitatem gerat belluæ[b]." i. e. Revolve and carefully examine your understanding, in order to see what notion, idea, or representation of a good man you find there. Is it consistent with the character of such a person to lie for his own advantage; to calumniate, supplant and cheat? Certainly, by no means. Is there any thing then so valuable, or any profit so desirable, as to make amends for the loss of honour and reputation in a man of probity? Can that, which we call profit, if it robs us of honour, justice, and the character of a good man, give us any thing so valuable in their stead? For where, pray, is the difference whether one be actually transformed from a man into a brute; or, under the external figure of a man, carry with him all the ferocity of the brute?——I will add no more on this subject, after I have observed, that some persons will be apt to make allowances for the craft, dissimulation and hypocrisy

[a] De Solis's History of the Conquest of Mexico, vol. I. p. 349. 8vo. Lond. 1738.

[b] Cicero de Officiis, lib. 3. sect. 20.

turn. The self-denying ordinance [21] which

of Cromwell, from the times in which he lived, and the persons he had to deal with: times of trouble, confusion and difficulty, and persons who, for the most part, were as little slaves to their words as himself. James I. Charles I. Charles II. and Moncke, to say nothing of a variety of others, acted the same part (but with less art, and worse grace) as he, though their praises have been high sounded by such as have loaded Cromwell with obloquy.

[21] The self-denying ordinance, &c.] This ordinance was a thing so specious and popular, and, at the same time, so mischievous and hurtful to the affairs of the parliament, that it deserves a very particular remembrance. It did more for Cromwell than he could almost have formed a wish for; namely, the depriving his enemies of all command, whilst he himself, by a very particular fortune, obtained the highest power. In a word, it ruined them, and advanced him. After the army under lord Essex had been in a manner ruined by the king, the general began to lose much of the esteem and reputation he had till then possessed. He was by many looked on with a jealous eye, and they were fearful he and his adherents were disposed to make terms with the king, which might be prejudicial to many who had engaged with them. In short, Essex and his party were accused by their enemies of neglecting, by vigorous operations, to put an end to the war, and of being inclined too much to his majesty.——"There were some," says Whitlock, "who had designs against Essex, and were desirous to remove him from his command, because they were jealous, that he was too much inclined to peace, and favouring of the king and his party. I think, I knew as much of his mind as others did, and always observed him to wish for peace, yet not upon any dishonourable or unjust terms. He was a lover of monarchy and nobility, which he suspected some designed to destroy, together with gentry, ministry and magistracy, which humour then began to boil up, but he resolved to support them, and wanted not advice to that

passed the house of lords, April 5, 1645, en-

end[a]."——Ludlow, who was engaged in the opposition to Essex, will explain something more of this matter.——"The enemy, contrary to all expectation, appeared again in a body near Newbury, where our army lay, who drew out to oppose them. Some small skirmishes happened between them, but a general engagement was opposed in a council of war by some of the greatest among us: whereupon the king, in the face of our army, twice as numerous as his, had time to send his artillery from Dennington-Castle towards Oxford, without any opposition, to the astonishment of all those who wished well to the public. But, by this time, it was clearly manifest, that the nobility had no further quarrel with the king, than 'till they could make their terms with him, having, for the most part, grounded their dissatisfactions upon some particular affront, or the prevalency of a faction about him. But though it should be granted, that their intentions in taking arms were to oblige the king to consent to redress the grievances of the nation, yet, if a war of this nature must be determined by treaty, and the king left in the exercise of the royal authority, after the utmost violation of the laws, and the greatest calamities brought upon the people, it doth not appear to me what security can be given to them for the future enjoyment of their rights and privileges; nor with what prudence wise men can engage with the parliament, who being, by practice at least, liable to be dissolved at pleasure, are thereby rendered unable to protect themselves, or such as take up arms under their authority, if, after infinite hardships and hazards of their lives and estates, they must fall under the power of a provoked enemy, who, being once re-established in his former authority, will never want means to revenge himself upon all those, who, in defence of the rights and liberties of the nation, adventure to resist him in his illegal and arbitrary proceedings[b]."——Such were the principles which disposed

[a] Whitlock's Memorials, p. 108. [b] Ludlow, vol. I. p. 132.

acting, That no member of either house, during

many at that time to wish for an alteration of men and measures; or, to speak more plainly, to put it effectually out of the power of those, who wanted not inclination, to conclude a peace with the king, on terms which might leave him in possession of the regal power.——But to go on.—"On the ninth of December, one thousand six hundred and forty-four, the house of commons having resolved themselves into a grand committee, to consider of the sad condition of the kingdom, by the continuance of the war, there was a general silence for a good space of time; many looking upon one another, to see who would break the ice, and speak first in so tender and sharp a point: amongst whom Oliver Cromwell stood up, and spake, briefly, to this effect: That it was now a time to speak, or for ever to hold the tongue, the important occasion being no less than to save a nation out of a bleeding, nay, almost dying, condition, which the long continuance of the war had already brought it into; so that without a more speedy, vigorous, and effectual prosecution of the war, casting off all lingering proceedings, like soldiers of fortune beyond sea, to spin out a war, we shall make the kingdom weary of us, and hate the name of a parliament: for what do the enemy say? nay, what do many say, that were friends at the beginning of the parliament? even this, That the members of both houses have got great places and commands, and the sword into their hands; and what by interest in parliament, and what by power in the army, will perpetually continue themselves in grandeur, and not permit the war speedily to end, lest their own power should determine with it. This I speak here to our own faces; it is but what others do utter abroad behind our backs. I am far from reflecting on any; I know the worth of those commanders, members of both houses, who are yet in power; but if I may speak my conscience, without reflection upon any, I do conceive, if the army be not put into another method, and the war more vigorously prosecuted, the people can bear the war no longer, and will

the war, should execute or enjoy any military

enforce you to a dishonourable peace: but this I would recommend to your prudence, not to insist upon any complaint or oversight of any commander in chief, upon any occasion whatsoever; for, as I must acknowledge myself guilty of oversights, so I know they can be rarely avoided in military affairs: therefore, waving a strict inquiry into the causes of these things, let us apply ourselves to the remedy which is most necessary; and, I hope, we have such true English hearts, and zealous affections towards the general weal of our mother country, as no members of either house will scruple to deny themselves, and their own private interests, for the public good; nor account it to be a dishonour done to them, whatever the parliament shall resolve upon in this weighty matter[a]."——What the consequence of this was will appear by the following vote in the journal of the day above-mentioned. "Resolved, &c. That, during the time of this war, no member of either house shall have, or execute, any office or command, military or civil, granted or conferred by both or either of the houses of parliament, or any authority derived from both or either of the houses: and that an ordinance be brought in accordingly." Mr. Solicitor [St. John], Mr. Recorder [Glyn], Mr. Crewe, Mr. Pierpoint, Mr. Maynard, Mr. Reynolds, Mr. Ellis, Mr. Lisle, were appointed a committee to bring in an ordinance to the purport of this vote; and likewise for the continuing of such officers in their places as are no members of either house, until the houses take further order; and to bring in such clauses, as they shall think fit, for the perfecting of this vote.—In the journal of the 11th of December, we find it "resolved, &c. That a fast shall be appointed for this house to observe on Wednesday next, to humble themselves for their particular and parliamentary sins and failings, whereby they may hope to obtain God's blessing in a better measure upon their endeavours for the future." On the next

[a] Parliamentary History, vol. XIII. p. 375.

or civil office; as it obliged Essex, Manchester,

day the lords agreed to the fast, to the day, and to the persons. These were Mr. Marshal, Mr. Hill, and Mr. Obadiah Sedgwick. On this day also it was ordered by the commons, that the ordinance, for disenabling the members to execute any office, should be taken into consideration, and read the second time on the next Saturday peremptorily. Accordingly it was then taken into consideration, committed to a committee of the whole house, and adjourned to the Thursday following. The fast accordingly was held before both houses, and the preachers, if we believe lord Clarendon, played their parts to admiration [a]. On the nineteenth the ordinance passed the house of commons (after having rejected the national covenant as a test for those who held or executed any office, as they had a clause before in favour of lord Essex) and it was ordered to be sent to the lords, for their concurrence; and that all the members of the house do go up with this ordinance to the lords [b]. From this short account of the progress of the bill through the house of commons, which I have compiled from the journals of that house, appears how absurdly lord Clarendon has put into a speech, pretended by him to be made by Cromwell, the day after the fast, a desire, "that an ordinance might be prepared, by which it might be unlawful, for any member of either house of parliament, to hold any office or command in the army, or any place or employment in the state [c];" for it plainly appears, that the ordinance was ordered in the ninth of December; that it had been committed to a committee of the whole house the Saturday following, and actually passed there on the nineteenth of that month, the day after the fast; and, therefore, could not be desired at that time to be brought in by Cromwell. Chronological tables, duly consulted, would have prevented his lordship from falling into many a blunder. But the

[a] Clarendon, vol. IV. p. 565. [b] Journals of the House of Commons.
[c] Clarendon, vol. IV. p. 567.

Denbigh, Warwick, and other chief officers, to

truth is, his account of the management of this matter in the pulpit and the senate, seems, for the most part, invention, at which his lordship had a very happy talent.—— I have given Cromwell's speech above in behalf of this ordinance. I will add to it a speech of Mr. Whitlock's, as containing, for the most part, the chief arguments alleged by the opposite parties in the house, on this memorable occasion. " Mr. Speaker, I am one of that number of your servants, who have no office or employment, but such as you are now about to except out of this ordinance, nor have ambition for any, and therefore may the more freely and indifferently, yet with all submission, humbly offer my reasons against it; as that which, I apprehend, may prove prejudicial to your service. It hath been objected, that your house, and the house of lords, is thin and empty, and you the less esteemed, having so few members here, many of them being employed in offices, that they cannot attend the houses; but that, by this ordinance, they will be at leisure and liberty to attend the service of the parliament here, and the houses be much fuller than now they are. I confess, Sir, this is fit to be remedied; but, I apprehend, you have a fitter way, than by this ordinance, to do it; that is, by issuing out new writs for electing new members in the places of those who are dead, or expelled, and this will satisfy the objection, and engage divers of interest and quality the more immediately in your service; whereas this ordinance will discontent many, and the houses will be but little the fuller by the passing of it. Another objection is, that, if this ordinance do not pass, the treaty for peace will not so well proceed, and the particular interests of members of parliament may retard the same; but will be all taken away by this ordinance. I am to seek how this can be materially objected, when I suppose, whether this ordinance pass or not, yet you intend members of parliament only to be your commissioners for that treaty; and, in case some of them be officers, they will the better understand your businesses,

lay down their commands in the army (which

on which the treaty will be grounded. Another objection is, that, unless this ordinance pass, the great work intended of new modelling your armies, will not so well be carried on; for that, by putting all out, there will remain no exception. I should rather have argued, that, by putting out all members out of their employment, the exception and discontent would be the more general; and, by leaving them still in their employments, there would be the less competition and sollicitation for new officers in their rooms. Another objection or argument is, that the members of parliament, who are officers, being of equal power in parliament, will not be so obedient to your commands as others who have smaller interests, and would not so much dispute one with another. Surely, Sir, those whose interest is the same with yours, have the more reason to obey your commands than others, and have more to hazard by disobedience than others can have; and, in your commands, all your members are involved, and it were strange if they should be backward to obey their own orders. Nor will the contests be so frequent and high, between them and other officers, as it will be between those who will be of a more equal condition. But, Mr. Speaker, as you consider the inconveniencies if this ordinance do not pass, so you will be pleased to consider the inconveniencies if it do pass. You will lay aside as brave men, and who have served you with as much courage, wisdom, faithfulness and success, as ever men served their country. Our noble general, the earls of Denbigh, Warwick, Manchester; the lords Roberts, Willoughby, and other lords in your armies, besides those in civil offices not excepted; and of your own members the lord Grey, lord Fairfax, Sir William Waller, lieutenant-general Cromwell, Mr. Mollis, Sir Philip Stapylton, Sir William Brereton, Sir John Meyrick, and many others must be laid aside, if you pass this ordinance. And I am to seek, and, I doubt, so will they be, to whom you shall refer the new modelling of your armies, where to find officers that shall excel, if equal

was put under the direction of Sir Thomas

to these. If your judgments are, that, for the public service, it will be expedient to remove any of them from their commands, let the same (if you please) be plainly made known to them from you. Let them have what they deserve, your thanks for their former good services, and they will not be offended, that you, having no more work for them, do lay them aside with honour. But to do a business of this nature (as hath been well said) by a side wind, is, in my humble opinion, not so becoming your honour and wisdom, as plainness and gravity, which are ornaments to your actions. I shall conclude with the example of the Grecians and Romans, amongst whom, Sir, you know, that the greatest offices, both of war and peace, were conferred upon their senators; and their reasons were, because they having greater interests than others, were the more capable to do them the greatest service. And, having the same interest with the senate, and present at their debates, they understood their business the better, and were less apt to break that trust, which so nearly concerned their private interests, which was involved with the publick; and the better they understood their business, the better service might be expected from them. Sir, I humbly submit the application to your judgment; your ancestors did the same; they thought the members of parliament fittest to be employed in the greatest offices: I hope you will be of the same judgment, and not at this time pass this ordinance, and thereby to discourage your faithful servants *."———This speech had no effect in the house of commons.——In the house of lords, however, the ordinance went on very heavily, "which occasioned the commons to send several messages up to desire the lords to expedite this ordinance; which being read by them twice, a conference was desired with the commons about it. And, in this conference, January 7th, the Speaker of the lords was ordered to deliver their reasons against passing it.

* Whitlock's Memorials, p. 119.

Fairfax) Cromwell seemed necessitated to re-

Among others, it was alledged, that 'the putting every member of either house of parliament into an incapacity of holding military or civil offices, during this war, may be of very dangerous consequence; because, how emergent soever the occasion may be, it cannot be altered without deserting of a positive rule imposed upon themselves; yet, that the world, with their own consciences, may bear witness, that they are as willing as any others to sacrifice, not only their places and offices, but all that is dearest to them, for the good of religion and the kingdom; they are willing that all places, civil and military, shall be disposed of as both houses of parliament shall judge may contribute most for the good of the public, any crime or just exception being given against such as are now intrusted with offices or commands: but that they can in no wise put an incapacity on themselves, and be made in a worse condition than any free subject.' After this they observed, 'this ordinance deprived the peers of that honour, which, in all ages, hath been given unto them, whose part it was to be employed in military commands; that the case was not alike between the two houses, in point of excluding the members of both houses from military employment; that, by this ordinance, they are wholly disabled from performing any military service, which is contrary to their protestation and covenant; and that the passing this ordinance, as to the military part, will produce such an alteration in all the armies, as, in apparent probability, must be of very dangerous consequence to the cause in hand at this juncture of time; and therefore, till a new model be propounded to succeed, they cannot but think the present frame better than such a confusion which is like to follow[a]."——These reasons operated so strongly with the lords, that, notwithstanding a reply from the commons, the ordinance was rejected, January 13, O. S. though afterwards it was agreed to by them on the 3d of April following: so

[a] Parliamentary History, vol. XIII. p. 387.

sign his commission also: but, by a fortune or

that Mr. Hume must be mistaken much about this matter, when he says, "the peers, tho' the scheme was, in part, levelled against their order; tho' all of them were, at the bottom, extreamly averse to it; possessed so little authority, that they durst not oppose the resolution of the commons; and they esteemed it better policy, by an unlimited compliance, to ward off that ruin which they saw approaching[a]." But it is no wonder this writer should commit many mistakes in his relation of this affair, when he professes only to give a detail of the methods by which it was conducted, as they are delivered by lord Clarendon[b]!——While these disputes lasted, another ordinance was prepared, and, after sundry debates and amendments, agreed to by both houses, for new modelling the army, whereby Sir Thomas Fairfax was appointed general in chief of all the forces, with a power of nominating the officers under him, and execution of martial law. No mention is made of the king's authority, nor is any clause for the preservation of his person here inserted[c]; but power is given the general to "lead his armies against all and singular enemies, rebels, traitors, and other like offenders, and every of their adherents, and with them to fight; and them to invade, resist, repress, subdue, pursue, slay, kill, and put in execution of death by all ways and means[d]."——This passed the house of lords April 1, after the earl of Essex had declared he would yield up his commission, as he did the day following, as well as the

[a] History of Great Britain, vol. I. p. 386. [b] Id. p. 384.

[c] The reasons urged by the commons against the clause of preserving his majesty's person, which had been insisted on in the house of lords, were these:

1. Inserting it here must either suppose the king's coming in the head of an army, to fight against us, for the preservation and defence of the true protestant religion, &c. and so we must preserve him: or, if we suppose he cometh not to preserve, but to fight to oppose those (as we know he doth) it seemeth rather a mockery than a reality.

2. That the king should not think us obliged, by our covenant, to preserve his person, if he appear in the head of an army against the parliament; nor the soldier to forbear his duty by reason of his presence.—Journal, March 29, 1645.

[d] Parliamentary History, vol. XIII. p. 437.

art peculiar to himself, he was dispensed

lords Manchester, Denbigh and Warwick very soon after. ——Thus almost all those men, by whose interest, power, and authority the war with the king had been undertaken, and without whom no opposition, of any weight, could possibly have been raised, were, in a short time, deprived of their power and influence over their own army, and obliged, as we shall soon see, to truckle before them! So little can men see into futurity! so different are the turns things take from what men are apt to expect and depend on.——The self-denying ordinance was very specious, as are all bills for excluding the members of parliament, whether lords or commons, from places of trust and profit; and they are generally received favourably, without doors, by all ranks of people. Whether the enacting of them would be right; whether consistent with the liberty of the subject; whether they could be carried into execution; or, whether they would be productive of most good or ill, are distinct questions, which politicians will long debate on, and find difficult, perhaps, after all, to come to a conclusion among themselves. But, with respect to the subject now before us, it appears to have been a very dangerous experiment the parliament made. Here was an army put solely under the command of one man; a power granted him to give out commissions, and to order his armies in a good measure according to his own discretion. What was this but to put it in his power to give the law to the parliament whenever he thought fit? To depend on men's characters, in matters where the well-being of the community, and even the being of the parliament itself might be at stake, was surely a great piece of weakness, if such it can be called, and liable to very severe censure. Soldiers soon forget to be citizens: they overlook, they contemn laws. The general is their sovereign, the officers their magistrates, and at all times they are at their beck and command. And generals, being used to absolute and uncontrouled command over large armies, are apt to forget also that they have any superiors.

with paying obedience to it[22]. He, therefore,

Hence the slavery of communities; the subversion of laws; the erection of tyranny, and every thing mischievous and hurtful to the human race.——The following passage from Montesquieu will properly close this note. "It is a question," says he, "whether civil and military employments ought to be conferred on the same person? In a republic, I should think, they ought to be joined, but in monarchies separated. In republics it would be extreamly dangerous to make the profession of arms a particular state, distinct from that of civil functions; and in monarchies no less dangerous would it be to confer these two employments on the same person. In republics a person takes up arms only with a view to defend his country and its laws; it is because he is a citizen he makes himself for a while a soldier. Were these two distinct states, the person, who, under arms, thinks himself a citizen, would soon be made sensible he is only a soldier. In monarchies military men have nothing but glory, or at least honour or fortune, in view. To men, therefore, like these, the prince should never give any civil employments; on the contrary, they ought to be checked by the civil magistrates, and care should be taken that the same men may not have, at the same time, the confidence of the people, and the power to abuse it. We need only turn our eyes to a nation [England] that may be justly called a republic disguised under the form of monarchy, and there we shall see how jealous they are of a separate state of the gentlemen of the army, and how the military state is constantly allied with that of the citizen, and even sometimes of the magistrate, to the end that these qualities may be a pledge for their country, which should never be forgotten[a]."

[22] By a fortune or art peculiar to himself, he was dispensed with paying obedience to the self-denying ordinance.] No man pushed more, we see, the passing of this

[a] Spirit of Laws, vol. I. p. 98. 8vo. Lond. 1750.

applied himself in good earnest to the war,

than Cromwell. He declared it necessary to satisfy the people, and to put an end to the war. Probably many honest men were induced to join with him in it, from these considerations. It could, therefore, never have entered into the heads of these, that the very same person should either desire or accept an exemption from a law, which he himself had moved for with so great zeal and earnestness. Nor did those who knew him to be a man of art, and were fearful of his devices, seem to entertain the least suspicion of him upon this head. So that his conduct was a masterpiece on this occasion, and shewed him more than a match for his chief opponents in the houses, who had too much openness, and were too little upon the reserve to contest with him. Lord Holles, after speaking of this ordinance, which turned out himself and his friends from their commands, and of the obedience[a] the army paid to the parliament, notwithstanding their love to their officers, whom they looked on as ill used for their services; proceeds thus: "the next work was how again to get in my friend Cromwell; for he was to have the power, Sir Thomas Fairfax only the name of general; he to be the figure, the other the cypher. This was so gross and diametrically against the letter of the self-denying ordinance, that it put them to some trouble how to bring it about. For this Cromwell's soldiers, forsooth, must mutiny, and say, they will have their Cromwell, or they will not stir. Hereupon he must be sent down——they must have their wills. Yet for these very men had Cromwell undertaken before, when, upon debate, the inconveniency was objected which might follow by discontenting the common soldiers, who would hardly be drawn to leave their old officers and go under new; he could say, that his

[a] It appears, however, from the journals of the house of commons, that many of the inferior officers and soldiers mutinied before the ordinance had passed the house of lords. In the journal of March 4, 1644, O. S. is a declaration of both houses, promising pardon to such as returned to their duty before the 15th of that instant, and threatening, in case of disobedience, to proceed against them as traitors and enemies to the commonwealth.

and increased the reputation he had already acquired.

soldiers had learned to obey the parliament, to go or stay, fight or lay by the sword, upon their command; which, I know, prevailed with a great many to give their vote with that ordinance. By this trick a little beginning was made towards the breach of it, which was soon made greater. For they caused a report to be spread, that the king was bending with his forces towards the Isle of Ely, but none could save but Cromwell, who must be sent in all haste for that service; and an order of dispensation is made for a very few months, two or three (I remember not well whether), but with such protestations of that party, that this was only for that exigency, and that for the world they would not have the ordinance impeached, as Mr. Sollicitor said; and that if no body would move for the calling him home at the expiration of that time, he would. But all this was to gull the house. Mr. Sollicitor had forgot his protestation, and, before that was out, there is another order for more months, and so renewed from time to time, that at last this great commander is rivetted in the army, and so fast rivetted, as, after all his orders of continuance were at an end, he would keep his command still, which he has done for several months, and does yet, notwithstanding that ordinance, without any order at all of the house for it[a]."——Lord Clarendon's account of Cromwell's keeping his command is too remarkable to be omitted; not by reason of its containing any so extraordinary a matter, as to shew how much his lordship wrote at random concerning the transactions of the parliament. "By this self-denying ordinance, together with the earl of Essex, the earl of Manchester, Sir William Waller, the earl of Denbigh, major-general Massey, lost their commands, as Cromwell should likewise have done. But as soon as the ordinance was passed, and before the resignation of the earl of Essex, the party that steered had caused him

[a] Holles's Memoirs, p. 34.

His actions, after the new modelling of the army, were worthy of a great commander,

to be sent with a body of horse into the west, to relieve Taunton, that he might be absent at the time when the other officers delivered their commissions; which was quickly observed; and thereupon orders were given, to require his present attendance in parliament, and that their new general should send some other officer to attend that service; which was pretended to be done; and the very day named, by which it was averred that he would be in the house. A rendezvous was then appointed for their new general to take a view of their troops, that he might appoint officers to succeed those who had left their commands by virtue of their ordinance; and likewise in their places, who gave up their commands, and refused to serve in the new model, who were a great number of their best commanders. From this rendezvous the general sent to desire the parliament, that they would give lieutenant-general Cromwell leave to stay with him for some few days, for his better information, without which he should not be able to perform what they expected from him. The request seeming so reasonable, and being for so short a time, little opposition was made to it: and shortly after, by another letter, he desired, with much earnestness, that they would allow Cromwell to serve for that campaign. Thus they compassed their whole design, in being rid of all those whose affections they knew were not agreeable to theirs, and keeping Cromwell in command, who, in the name of Fairfax, modelled the army, and placed such officers as were well known to him, and to no body else; and absolutely governed the whole martial affairs, as was quickly known to all men[a]." ——How many mistakes there are in the above citation I need not point out. The attentive reader will soon discover them.——In the journal of the house of commons, February 27, 1644, O. S. we read the following resolutions. "Re-

[a] Clarendon, vol. IV. p. 629.

solved, &c. That lieutenant-general Cromwell be desired forthwith to go down to Sir William Waller, to go with him upon this expedition into the west, for relief of Melcombe, and the garrisons and places adjacent, and for preventing and breaking the enemy's levies and recruits; and that it be referred to the committee of both kingdoms, to consider, this afternoon, of the disposing of the commands in such manner as may be most advantageous for the service, and for accommodating all differences, if any occasion should be; and to accommodate him with what shall be further necessary for this expedition this afternoon. Resolved, &c. That lieutenant-general Cromwell shall have liberty to take with him into the west his three troops that are at Henley, and that it be referred to the committee of both kingdoms to appoint three troops in the place of those three troops; and that lieutenant-general Cromwell shall have liberty to take with him quarter-master-general Ireton. Ordered, That Mr. Gossal and Mr. Lemman, treasurers for the earl of Manchester's association, do forthwith pay unto lieutenant-general Cromwell one thousand pounds; whereof five hundred upon his own account, and the other five hundred pounds to be disposed of as he shall think fit, to the pay of his own troops." So that lord Clarendon probably mistook Taunton for Melcombe in the passage above recited. However, neither he nor his troops performed any service there; for, though Melcombe and other places were taken by Sir William Waller, yet, in the journal of the house, March 20, 1644, O. S. we read "the humble petition of the soldiers of lieutenant-general Cromwell, acknowledging the heinousness of their offence in refusing to march with Sir William Waller into the west, was this day read: and it is resolved, &c. That this house doth accept of the acknowledgement and submission of the said soldiers, and do admit them into their former good opinion and favour." This, I suppose, was the mutiny referred to in the above passage from lord Holles. For, though Cromwell was commanded to join Waller, I cannot find that he did:—he seems, about this time, to have been very active in the

house, and zealous in the affair of new modelling the army. However, he soon after joined his troops; and the self-denying ordinance having passed the house of lords, the army being new modelled, and Fairfax in supreme command, Cromwell, pretending that he was, with the other officers, to resign his commission, came to Windsor from his command in the west, to kiss the general's hand, and take his leave of him, "when," says an historian of that time, greatly in the interest of Oliver, "in the morning, ere he was come forth of his chamber, those commands [to march beyond Oxford with a body of horse, and lie on the further side towards Worcester, to intercept a convoy going to Oxford, and to keep the king and his train from going thence] than which he thought of nothing less in all the world, came to him from the committee of both kingdoms[a]:" whereupon, taking a body of horse and dragoons, he marched into Oxfordshire, beat a party of the enemy at Islip-bridge, reduced Blechingdon-house, and performed many other things advantageous to his cause. He continued, therefore, in the army, and was authorised so to do, as appears by what follows in the journal of the house of commons, May 11, 1645: "Two letters from lieutenant-general Cromwell and major-general Browne; the one of May 8th, the other of May 9th, informing, that general Goringe is advanced westward, and the king northward towards Worcester; were this day read; and immediately delivered to Mr. Recorder, that brought them in. Ordered, &c. That the committee of the army do take care for the providing of monies and ammunition for those horse and foot, that are within the new model, and now under the command of lieutenant-general Cromwell, and major-general Browne. Ordered, &c. That it be referred to the committee of the army, to consider, what sums of money is fit to be provided for that party of horse and foot under the command of lieutenant-general Cromwell and major-general Browne, which is not within the new model.

[a] Sprigg's Anglia Rediviva, p. 10. fol. Lond. 1647.

and at the battle of Naseby he gave fresh

Whereas lieutenant-general Cromwell is now in the actual service of the parliament, and in prosecution of the enemy; it is this day enjoined by the lords and commons, that he shall continue in the employment he is now in, for forty days longer; notwithstanding the late ordinance, or any clause therein, that discharges the members of either house from having any office or command, military or civil." In the journal of June the 10th following, it is said, "A letter from Sir Thomas Fairfaxe, and divers of the chief officers of his army, from Sherrington, of June the 8th; desiring that lieutenant-general Cromwell might command the horse in chief, in Sir Thomas Fairfaxe his army, was this day read. Resolved upon the question, that Sir Thomas Fairfaxe be desired (if he thinks fit) to appoint lieutenant-general Cromwell to command the horse under Sir Thomas Fairfaxe, as lieutenant-general, during such time as this house shall please to dispense with his attendance: and that Sir Thomas Widdrington prepare a letter to be signed by Mr. Speaker, and forthwith sent to Sir Thomas Fairfaxe to acquaint him with this vote." The letter here referred to was signed among others, by Fleetwood, Whalley, Skippon, and Ireton, men near to Cromwell, and, probably, not wholly ignorant of his designs. But to go on.—On the 16th of June, when news had been brought the house of the battle of Naseby, we find it in the journal of that day, "Resolved, &c. That lieutenant-general Cromwell shall be lieutenant-general of the horse, in the army under the command of Sir Thomas Fairfax, during the pleasure of both houses. The lords concurrence to be desired herein. Resolved, That lieutenant-general Cromwell shall have pay of lieutenant-general of the horse, since the time of the first establishment of the army, under Sir Thomas Fairfax's command. The lords concurrence to be desired herein." However, in conformity to an alteration made by the house of lords, we find the resolution stand in the following manner two days afterwards. "Resolved upon the question,

proofs of his valour[23] and bravery. From

that lieutenant-general Cromwell shall continue as lieutenant-general of the horse according to the established pay of the army, for three months from the end of the forty days formerly granted to him." And on the 8th of August, 1645, it was ordered by the commons, "That he should be continued in the same employment, as formerly, for the space of four months longer, from the end of the said three months, for which he was formerly continued, as aforesaid; on the 17th of Oct. it was continued for four months longer; and on the 23d of Jan. following for six months more."——After this there were no more resolutions about Cromwell: he took it for granted he had leave; no one offered to move for recalling him; and he soon came to so great a power, that no one with safety could almost have dared to have done it. In fine, the self-denying ordinance having answered its intention of turning out the grandees of both houses from their commands in the army, and Cromwell having the luck to be exempted from it, he accomplished what he then had in his view, and soon after, by means of his friends, had many chief officers of the army chosen members of the house of commons, who took their seats and retained their commands. And thereby encouraged the old members of their party to provide for themselves likewise. Sir William Brereton, Sir Oliver and Sir Samuel Luke, Ireton, Rainsborough, Algernon Sidney, Ingoldsby, Ludlow, Skippon, Fleetwood [a], and other principal commanders, were members of parliament; most of whom were friends to Cromwell till he openly declared himself, and some of them after that: whereby it plainly appeared that, in his and their judgment, the ordinance was calculated more for party purposes, though carried on under specious pretences, than for the public good.

[23] In the battle of Naseby he gave fresh proofs of his valour.] Though I proposed not to enter into a detail of

[a] See Walker's History of Independency, part I. p. 166—172. 4to. Lond. 1648.

this time the king's power very sensibly de-

Oliver's military exploits, yet I shall give the reader a short account of the important battle of Naseby, which is thus related by Mr. Whitlock. "The king commanded the main body of his army, prince Rupert and prince Maurice the right wing, sir Marmaduke Langdale the left, the earl of Lindsey and the lord Ashley the right-hand reserve, the lord Bard and sir George L'Isle the left reserve. Of the parliament's army, Fairfax and Skippon commanded the main body, Cromwell the right wing, with whom was Rossiter, and they both came in but a little before the fight. Ireton commanded the left wing, the reserves were brought up by Rainsborough, Hammond and Pride. Prince Rupert began and charged the parliament's left wing with great resolution; Ireton made gallant resistance, but at last was forced to give ground, he himself being run through the thigh with a pike, and into the face with a halbert, and his horse shot under him, and himself taken prisoner. Prince Rupert followed the chase almost to Naseby town, and in his return, summoned the train, who made no other answer but by their firelocks; he also visited the carriages where was good plunder, but his long stay from the main body was no small prejudice to the king's army. In the mean time Cromwell charged furiously on the king's left wing, and got the better, forcing them from the body, and prosecuting the advantage, quite broke them and their reserve. During which, the main bodies had charged one another with incredible fierceness, often retreating and rallying, falling in together with the butt-ends of their muskets, and coming to hand blows with their swords. Langdale's men having been in some discontent before, did not in this fight, behave themselves as they used to do in others, as their own party gave it out of them; yet they did their parts, and the rest of the king's army both horse and foot performed their duties with great courage and resolution, both commanders and soldiers. Some of the parliament's horse having lingred awhile about pillage, and being in some disadvantage, Skip-

cayed, and all things flowed in very prosper-

pon perceiving it, brought up his foot seasonably to their assistance, and in this charge (as himself related it to me) was shot in the side. Cromwell coming in with his victorious right wing, they all charged together upon the king, who, unable to endure any longer, got out of the field towards Leicester. Prince Rupert, who now too late returned from his improvident eager pursuit, seeing the day lost, accompanied them in their flight, leaving a compleat victory to the parliamentarians."—After more particulars he closes his account thus: "Both the general and lieutenant-general performed their work with admirable resolution, and by their particular examples infused valour into their followers, so likewise did the other officers, of whom divers were wounded. On the other side, the king shewed himself this day, a couragious general, keeping close with his horse, and himself in person rallying them to hot encounters[a]."——Hear now an adversary to Cromwell.—"Very early in the morning [June 14, 1645] the scouts brought word that the king was making all haste to the engagement, being falsly informed that Fairfax in fear was retreating to Northampton, whereas he had now disposed of Naseby field, and awaited him, having Cromwell with Whalley on his right wing, and Ireton on his left, the one opposed to my lord Langdale, and the northern horse, and the other to prince Rupert, general of the cavalry, the king himself being generalissimo. To come to the event. Prince Rupert totally routed Ireton, who being engaged and driven upon the king's rightmost foot, was there wounded in the thigh with a halbert, and taken prisoner, and the field on that hand cleared; which Fairfax and Cromwell observing, having not yet stirred from their ground, Fairfax with a short speech encouraged his troops to the charge; which was seconded by some devout ejaculations from Cromwell, who clapping spurs to his horse, fell in with Langdale's brigade, and quite charged

[a] Whitlock's Memorials, p. 150.

through three bodies and utterly broke them; nor did he stop till with fine force he had likewise beat that wing from their ground, without possibility of rallying or recovering it again. In this action a commander of the king's knowing Cromwell, advanced smartly from the head of his troops to exchange a bullet singly with him, and was with the like gallantry encountered by him, both sides forbearing to come in, till their pistols being discharged, the cavalier with a slanting back-blow of a broad sword, luckily cut the ribbond that tied his murrion, and with a draw threw it off his head, and now ready to repeat his stroke, his party came in and rescued him, and one of them alighting, threw up his head-piece into his saddle, which Oliver hastily catching, as being affrighted with the chance, clapt it the wrong way on his head, and so fought with it the rest of the day, which proved most highly fortunate on his side (though the king most magnanimously and expertly managed the fight, exposing himself to the eminentest perils of the field) and raised himself beyond the arts and reach of envy, or his enemies of the presbyterian party, who had so long been heaving at him, to out him of all military employments, which concluding so pertinently and peremptorily for him in this grand event, did charm the hatred, malice and prejudice against him, into fear and dread what this arrogance of his fortune would finally aspire to. This battle wholly overthrew the king, who was never after able to make head against the parliament forces, but piecemeal lost his armies, castles and towns[a]." I have related this action as I found it, but must at the same time desire my reader to class it with the encounters of Quixot and Amadis; for like theirs it owes its existence to imagination, and is not to be met with in any writer of credit.

The three following authentic copies of original letters relating to this battle, will be deemed curiosities by most readers. They will do well to compare them with the narratives of modern commanders. In the year 1754, they were found in a wall nine feet thick, on pulling down a house in

[a] Flagellum, p. 37.

Palace-Yard, Westminster, in order to build an office for the clerks of the house of lords. The public is indebted for the communication to an honourable gentleman, of distinguished rank in the republic of letters[a].

Letter I. Indorsed, To the honourable William Lenthall, esq. Speaker to the house of commons. Haste.

HONOURABLE SIR,

This morning by day brake wee marcht out Guilsburrô, after the enemy. After an hours march we discovered their horse drawne up at Sybbertoff three miles this side Harborrough, an hour after their foot appeared. This was about 8 in the morning, by 10 we were disposed into a battalia on both sides, both sides with mighty shouts exprest a hearty desire of fighting; having for our parts recommended our cause to God's protection, and rec^d. the word, which was God our strength, theirs Queen Mary. Our forlorne hopes begun the pla - - - whiles both sides labour'd for the hill and wynd, which in conclusyon w - - as it were equally divided. Our forlorne hope gave back, and their righ- wing of horse fell upon our left with such gallantry, that ours were immediately routed. About 1000 ran along with them, but such was the courage and diligence of the right wing backt with the foot, that they not only brat back the enemy from the traine, but fell in with their ffoot, and after 2 hours dispute won all their ffield peeces, (of which some are cannon) most of their baggage, mortar peeces, boats, 3000 arms, much powder, match, &c. and nigh 4000 prisoners, their number was about 12000; some 600 slayne, many commanders of note. Of ours not above 200. Our horse are still in pursuit, and have taken many officers; their standard is ours, the Kings waggon and many ladyes. God Almighty give us thankful hearts for this great victory, the most absolute as yet obteyned. The General, leift. gen. Cromwell, and Major Gen. Skippon (who is shot in the side, but not dangerous) did beyond expression gallantly; so did all

[a] Horace Walpole, Esq.

the other commanders and soldiers. We have lost but 2 Capt. Tho' this come late, be pleased to accept it from

Your Honors most humble servants,

Naezby, wher the ffight was this Saturday, 14 Junii, 1645. HAR. LEIGHTON. THO. HERBERT.

Capt. Potter is dangerously wounded, but hopes of his recovery, so is Capt. Cook.

Letter II. Indorsed, For the hon^ble^ William Lenthall, Speaker of commons house of parliament. Theise.

SIR,

Being commanded by you to this service, I think myself bound to acquaint you with the good hand of God towards you and us. We marched yesterday after the Kinge who went before us from Daventree to Haverbrowe and quartered about six miles from him, this day we marched towards him. Hee drew out to meete us, both armies ingaged, we after three howers fight very doubtful, att last routed his armie, killed and tooke about 5000, very many officers, but of what qualitye wee yet know not, wee tooke also about 200 carag - - all hee had, and all his gunns, being 12 in number, whereof 2 were demie cannon, 2 demie culveringes, and (I think) the rest facers. We pursued - - - enemy from 3 miles short of Ha- - - to nine beyond, even to sight of Leices - - - whether the King fled. Sir this is non other but the hand of God, and to him alone belongs the glorie, wherein non are to share with him. The general served you with all faythfulnesse and honor, and the best commendations I can give him is, that I d - - say hee attributes all to God, and woud rath perish then assume to himselfe, which is an honest and a thrivinge way, and yet as much for bravery may be given to him in this action as to a man. Honest men served you faithfully in this action. Sir they are trustye. I beseech you in the name of God not to discourage them. I wish this action may begett thankfulnesse and humilitye in all that are concerned in it. He that venters his life for the libertie of his countrie, I wish hee trust God

for the libertie of his conscience, and you for the libertye he fights for, in this hee rests whoe is

June 14th, 1645. Your most humble servant,

Haverbrowe. OLIVER CROMWELL.

Letter III. Indorsed, For the hon^ble^ William Lenthall, Esq^r^. Speaker of the ho^ble^ house of commons.

MR. SPEAKER,

Besides the general account, I have alreadie given, by one of my servants, whom I sent up to London yesterday, I thought fit to send the bearer Mr. Boles, whoe may more particularlye informe you concerneinge the abundant goodness of God to this army, and the whole kingdome in the late victorie obteyned at Naseby fielde. The whole body of their foote—taken and slaine, such a list of the prisoners as could be made up in this short time I have sent, the horse all quitted the fielde, and were pursued within three miles of Leicester: theire ammunition, ordnance and carriages all taken: among which there were, two demy cannons, a whole culverin and a mortar peece, besides lesser peeces. We intend to move to Leicester as soon as we have taken order with our prisoners and wounded men. All that I desire is, that the honor of this greate and never to be forgotten mercie may be given to God, in an extraordinary day of thanksgivings; and that it may be improved to the good of his churche and his kingdome: which shall be faithfully endeavoured by, Sir,

Y^r^ most humble Ser^t^,

Harborough, June 15, 1645. THO. FAIRFAX.

Some Irish are among the prisoners, as I am informed: I have not time to make enquiry into it. I desire they may be proceeded against according to ordnance of parliament. Major general Skippon was shot throughe his side; but notwithstandinge he continued in the ffielde with great resolucon; and when I desired him to goe off the ffield, he answered he would not goe so long as a man would stand, still doing his office as a valient and

ously on the parliament, who failed not[24] to re-

wise commander. Also Colonel Butler and Colonel Ireton, upon theire first charge were both dangerouslie wounded, behaving themselves very gallantlie. If I could enter into particulars, much might be spoken of the resolucon and courage of many commanders, both horse and ffoote in this days service[a].

These letters give us a clear idea of this important and decisive battle, a battle which in a manner extinguished the king's hopes, and soon after brought on a total reduction of his power! Lord Clarendon says, the king and the kingdom were lost in it[b]:—an expression which denotes his lordship's idea of the immenseness of the loss, though perhaps not much more exact than his account of the battle itself, which, to say the least of it, is very defective and erroneous, as will appear by comparing it with the authentic accounts here given.

[24] The parliament failed not to reward Oliver for his good services.] Milton complains of the offices, gifts and preferments bestowed and shared among the members of parliament[c]. And if we may believe a writer of those times, who had opportunity of being informed, (though allowances must be made for his prejudices) this was commonly and openly done, to the vexation of such as either could not, or would not partake with them. The passage is remarkable, and relates properly to the subject in hand. "The leading men or bel-weathers having seemingly divided themselves, and having really divided the houses, and captivated their respective parties judgment, teaching them by an implicite faith, *Jurare in verba magistri*, to pin their opinions upon

[a] Since the insertion of these letters, I find they were printed by order of parliament, June 16, 1648, and republished in Rushworth's Collections. But as they are curious, little known, and probably now first transcribed from the originals, I have thought proper to give them a place in this work notwithstanding. A copy of Cromwell's letter is in the British Museum.

[b] Vol. IV. p. 658. [c] See the second quotation from Milton in note 14

ward Oliver for his good services. But grati-

their sleeves; they begin to advance their projects of monopolizing the profits, preferments, and power of the kingdom in themselves. To which purpose, though the leaders of each party seem to maintain a hot opposition, yet when any profit or preferment is to be reached at, it is observed that a powerful independent especially moves for a presbyterian, or a leading presbyterian for an independent: and seldom doth one oppose or speak against another, in such cases, unless something of particular spleen or competition come between, which causeth them to break the common rule. By this means the grandees of each faction seldom miss their mark, since an independent moving for a presbyterian, his reputation carries the business clear with the independent party: and the presbyterians will not oppose a leading man of their own side. By this artifice the grandees of each side share the commonwealth between them; and are now become proud, domineering Rehoboams, even over the rest of their fellow members (contrary to the liberty of parliament, which consists in an equality) that were formerly fawning ambitious Absaloms. There hath been lately given away to members openly (besides innumerable and inestimable private cheats mutually connived at) at least 300000*l.* in money, besides rich offices, employments in money committees, sequestrations and other advantages. And those members who have so well served themselves under colour of serving *the* publick, are, for the most part, old canvasers of factions, who have sat idly and safely in the house, watching their advantages to confound businesses, and shuffle the cards to make their own game; when others that have ventured their persons abroad, laboured in the publick work, like Israelites under these Egyptian taskmasters, and lost their estates, are left to starve until they can find relief in that empty bag called by fools, *fides publica*, by wise men *fides punica*, and are now looked upon in the house superciliously, like unwelcome guests[a]."

[a] Walker's Mystery of the two Juntoes, p. 2.

tude did not bind him; for his success and

Lord Holles in very sharp terms speaks of his antagonists, the independent party, promoting and rewarding their friends and adherents: "Which," says he, "was easy for them, having both sword and purse, and withall an impudence and boldness to reward all those who would sell their consciences. For all such members of the house, and others, were sure to be preferred, have large gifts given them out of the commonwealths money, arrears paid, offices confered upon them, countenanced and protected against all complaints and prosecutions, had they done never so unworthy, unjust, horrid actions, to the oppression of the subject, and dishonour of the parliament. All others discountenanced, opposed, inquisitions set upon them, questioned, imprisoned upon the least occasion, colours of crimes many times for doing real good service, and no favour nor justice for them: only that the world might see which was the way to rise, and which to be sure to meet with contrary winds and storms, and so make all men at least to hold candles to these visible saints[a]."——In another place his lordship vindicates himself and friends from the charge of enriching themselves by disposing of the public money, and retorts it on his adversaries, setting forth in a very particular manner what sums of money they had received under various pretences, and what salaries they enjoyed[b]. But after all these warm declamations, for both these writers were very warm, when they exercised their pens on these subjects, what was there done in these times that has not, that will not be done at all times? Friends and favourites are countenanced and preferred, enemies are overlooked, neglected, or disappointed. Was it ever otherwise? If men perform great and eminent services, it is grateful, it is politic to reward them. To complain of the givers or receivers, seems not very consistent with good sense and impartiality. Cromwell we have seen make a figure in the war: he had

[a] Holles's Memoirs, p. 36. [b] Id. p. 132—138.

influence on the army, inspired him with con-

ventured his life many times in the public service, and had brought reputation and victory back with him. Was he unworthy of notice, or did he not highly merit it? When the house of commons was far enough from being wholly at his devotion, we find it ordered, "that five hundred pounds be forthwith provided and advanced,——to be bestowed on lieutenant general Cromwell, as a respect from the house. Ordered that all the lands of the earl of Worcester, lord Herbert, and Sir John Somersett, his sons, in the county of Southampton, be settled upon lieutenant general Cromwell, and his heirs, to be accounted as part of the two thousand five hundred pounds *per annum*, formerly appointed him by this house: and that Mr. Samuel Browne, Mr. Solicitor, Mr. Lisle, and Mr. Wallop, do bring in an ordinance accordingly. Ordered, that it be referred to the committee of the army, to consider how the residue of the two thousand five hundred pounds, land of inheritance formerly assigned lieutenant general Cromwell by this house, may be speedily settled upon him, and his heirs, for ever, and he put in the present possession of it; and likewise to consider of an entertainment for his present subsistence; and to bring in an ordinance to this purpose[a]." And it was moreover ordered a few days afterwards, "that Mr. Lisle do bring in an ordinance for the full granting unto, and settling upon lieutenant general Cromwell, and his heirs, the manors of Abberston and Itchell, with the rights, members and appurtenances thereof, in the county of Southampton; being the lands of John lord marquis of Winchester, a delinquent, that hath been in arms against the parliament, and a Papist[b]." What the event of this last order was I cannot find; but by the following letter of Oliver St. John to Cromwell, it appears that the house of commons had liberally rewarded him for his services.

[a] Journal, Jan. 23, 1645. [b] Journal, Jan. 31, 1645.

fidence and ambition, and excited in him

DEARE SIR,

"I have herewithall sente you the order of the house of commons for settling 2500*l.* *per annum* upon you and your heires, and the ordinance of parliament in pursuance thereof in part, whereby the lands therein mentioned, being all the lands of the earle of Worcester in that county, are settled upon you. I have likewise sent you a rent-roll of the quit-rents. The manors consist most of old rents. There are three advowsons. I am told by Col. Norton and Mr. Wheeler, whoe know the lands, that they are accounted 100*l.* *p. ann.*

"I endeavoured to passe this for the present, rather than to have stayed longer to make up the whole. Your patent was speedily prepared, and is this day passed the great seal. I have not sente it downe, but will keepe it for you, until I receive your direction to whom to deliver it. The charges of passing the ordinances to the clerkes, and of the seale, my clerke of the patents hath satisfied; you shall hereafter know what they come to. I delivered a copy of the ordinance to Mr. Lisle to send it to the committee of sequestrations, whoe hath, together with a letter to them, desyred, that the sequestrators take care that no wrong be done to the lands. That which principally moved me to it was, because I heard, there weare goodly woods, and that much had been formerly cut, that for the future a stop might be made. By the ordinance sent you, you will be auctorized to send some bayliffe of your owne to husband the lands to your best advantage, which would be done speedilie. There is another order of the house for preparinge an ordinance for a goodly house and other lands in Hampshire, of the marquisse of Winchesters. Wee had thought to have had them in the ordinance, already passed, but by absence of some, when I brought in the other, that fayled. Perhaps it is better as it is, and that the addition might have stayed this. You know to whome the marquise hath relation[a], and in regard

[a] The marquis of Winchester married the half-sister of the earl of Essex. Ludlow, vol. I. p. 158.

views [25] prejudicial to the authority from whence

that our commission for the scale ends with this month, I desyred rather for the presente to passe this, than to hazard the delay. Mr. Lisle was ordered to bring in the other ordinance; it is not yet done. Sir, Mr. Wallop, Mr. Lisle, Sir Thomas Germayne, have been real friends to you in this business, and heartily desire to have you seated, if possible, in their country. Remember by the next to take notice hereof by letter unto them[a]."——I know not what the patent mentioned in this letter means, unless the following resolution of the house of commons, Dec. 1, 1645, will explain it. "Resolved that the title and dignity of a baron of the kingdom of England, with all rights, priviledges, pre-eminences, and precedencies, to the said title and dignity belonging or appertaining, be conferred and settled on lieutenant general Oliver Cromwell, and the heirs males of his body: and that his majesty be desired, in these propositions, [for a peace] to grant and confer the said title and dignity upon him, and the heirs males of his body accordingly: and that it be referred to the former committee, to consider of a fit way and manner for the perfecting hereof[b]." —Here are proofs sufficient of the bounty of Oliver's masters.

[25] His success and his interest in the army, inspired him with ambition, &c.] Sir Thomas Fairfax, we have seen, was constituted general and commander in chief of the new modelled army; and he behaved, as it is well known, with great bravery and conduct. But his talents were chiefly of the military kind. He had no inclination for intrigues; no ambitious views; and therefore stood not in need of those arts which are requisite to obtain confidence and power. He contented himself with discharging the duties of a good general, and troubled not himself with any thing beyond it. Cromwell had other things in his head. He fought not merely for his masters, or out of zeal for the cause; though zeal he undoubtedly had; but that he might one time or other take the lead, and gratify his own boundless ambition.

[a] Thurloe, vol. I. p. 75. [b] Journals.

he derived his power. For the war being ended

He therefore made his court to all the officers and soldiers, and became at length so popular, as to be looked on by friends and foes as the chief actor in the interesting scenes exhibited by the army. "Fairfax was viewed as a gentleman of an irrational and brutish valour, fitter to follow another man's counsel than his own, and obnoxious to Cromwell and the independant faction (upon whose bottom he stands) for his preferment, it being no dishonour to him to become the property of a powerful faction [a]." But Cromwell was described "as a head schoolmaster, in the parliament, (represented as a free-school when subjected to the will of the army) Ireton usher, and (that cypher) Fairfax prepositor [b]." And Holles says, "From the beginning of the new modelling the army, it was intended, by his party, that Cromwell should have the power, Sir Thomas Fairfax only the name of general." And he further characterizes him, "as one fit for their turns, to do whatever they will have him, without considering or being able to judge whether honourable or honest [c]." These characters of Fairfax seem very severe, and one would be apt to think, ought to be read with some allowances, as coming from men heated with resentment, and foes to the general and his army. But the following passages from his own Memoirs, will shew us that there is much truth in what is above written, though couched in a sharp and adversary-like style. His little influence and authority in the army over which he had the name of general, he thus describes. "From the time they [the army] declared their usurped authority at Triplow-Heath, I never gave my free consent to any thing they did: but being yet undischarged of my place, they set my name in way of course to all their papers, whether I consented or not: and to such failings are all authorities subject. Under parliamentary authority many injuries have been done; so here hath a general's power been broken and crumbled into a

[a] Walker's History of Independency, part I. p. 30. [b] Id. part II. p. 30.
[c] Holles's Memoirs, p. 34.

in July 1646, the soldiery, instigated by Crom-

levelling faction. Yet even this, I hope, all impartial judges will interprit as force and ravishment of a good name, rather than a voluntary consent, which might make me equally criminal with that faction. And if in a multitude of words, much more in a multitude of actions, there must be some transgressions; yet I can truly say, they were never designedly, or wilfully committed by me[a]."

This shews perfectly the man.—Let us now proceed to view the ambition of Cromwell which had full scope for action under such a leader. Ludlow, speaking of the situation of affairs after the king was delivered into the hands of the parliament's commissioners by the Scots, says, "Walking one day with lieutenant-general Cromwell in Sir Robert Cotton's garden, he inveighed bitterly against them, [the parliament] saying in a familiar way to me, if thy father were alive, he would let some of them hear what they deserved: adding farther, that it was a miserable thing to serve a parliament, to whom let a man be never so faithful, if one pragmatical fellow rise up and asperse him, he shall never wipe it off. Whereas, said he, when one serves under a general, he may do as much service, and yet be free from all blame and envy. This text, together with the comment his after actions put upon it, hath since perswaded me, that he had already conceived the design of destroying the civil authority, and setting up of himself; and that he took that opportunity to feel my pulse, whether I were a fit instrument to be employed by him to those ends. But having replied to his discourse, that we ought to perform the duty of our stations, and trust God with our honour, power and all that is dear to us, not permitting any such considerations to discourage us from the prosecution of our duty, I never heard any thing more from him upon that point[b]." The same writer, after telling us that some menacing expressions fell from some members of parliament, on occasion of the offi-

[a] Short Memorials, p. 125. 8vo. 1690. [b] Ludlow, vol. I. p. 1[illegible].

well, refused to disband, or be sent into Ireland.

cers of the army refusing to disband on their command, adds, "Lieutenant-general Cromwell took the occasion to whisper me in the ear, saying, These men will never leave till the army pull them out by the ears: which expression I should have resented, if the state of our affairs would have permitted[a]." ——But nothing so fully sets forth the arts and ambition of Cromwell as a paper printed in Thurloe's correspondence, entitled "Sundry Reasons inducing Major Robert Huntington to lay down his commission, humbly presented to the honourable houses of parliament." It is long, but it would be a wrong to the reader as well as the subject to abridge it.——"Having taken up arms," says he, "in defence of the authority and power of king and parliament, under the command of the lord Grey of Warke, and the earl of Manchester, during their several employments with the forces of the eastern association, and at the modelling of this army under the present lieutenant-general, having been appointed by the honourable houses of parliament, a major to the now regiment of lieutenant-general Cromwell; in each of which employments having served constantly and faithfully, answerable to the trust reposed in me; and having lately quit the said employment, and laid down my commission, I hold myself tyed both in duty and conscience to render the true reasons thereof, which in the general is briefly this: because the principles, designs, and actions of those officers, which have a great influence upon the army, are (as I conceive) very repugnant, and destructive to the honour and safety of the parliament and kingdom, from whom they derive their authority. The particulars whereof (being a breviat of my sad observations) will appear in the following narrative.

"First, that upon the orders of parliament for disbanding this army, lieutenant general Cromwell and commissary-general Ireton, were sent commissioners to Walden, to re-

[a] Ludlow, vol. I. p. 189.

though commanded by the parliament; erected

duce the army to their obedience, but more especially, in order to the present supply of forces for the service of Ireland. But they, contrary to the trust reposed in them, very much hindered that service, not only by discountenancing those that were obedient and willing, but also by giving encouragement to the unwilling and disobedient, declaring that there had lately been much cruelty and injustice in the parliament's proceedings against them, meaning the army. And commissary-general Ireton, in further pursuance thereof, framed those papers and writings then sent from the army to the parliament and kingdom, saying also to the agitators, that it was then lawful and fit for us to deny disbanding, 'till we had received equal and full satisfaction for our past service: lieutenant-general Cromwell further adding, that we were in a double capacity, as soldiers, and as commoners. And when upon the rendezvous at Triplow-heath, the commissioners of parliament, according to their orders, acquainted every regiment with what the parliament had already done, and would further do, in order to the desires of the army, the soldiers being before prepared, and notwithstanding any thing could be said or offered to them by the commissioners, they still cried out for Justice, Justice. And for the effecting of their further purposes, advice was given by lieutenant-general Cromwell and commissary-general Ireton, to remove the king's person from Holdenby, or to secure him there by other guards than those appointed by the commissioners of parliament; which was thought most fit to be carried on by the private soldiery of the army, and promoted by the agitators of each regiment, whose first business was to secure the garrison of Oxford, with the guns and ammunition there; from thence to march to Holdenby in prosecution of the former advice; which was accordingly acted by cornet Joyce, who when he had done the business, sent a letter to the general then at Keinton, acquainting his excellency, that the king was on his march towards Newmarket. The general being troubled thereat, told commissary-general

a council of officers and agitators, to consult of

Ireton, that he did not like it, demanding withall who gave those orders. He replied that he gave orders only for securing the king there, and not for taking him away from thence. Lieutenant-general Cromwell coming then from London, said, if this had not been done, the king would have been fetched away by order of parliament; or else colonel Graves by the advice of the commissioners would have carried him to London, throwing themselves upon the favour of parliament for that service. The same day cornet Joyce being told the general was displeased with him for bringing the king from Holdenby, he answered that lieutenant-general Cromwell gave him orders at London, to do what he had done both there and at Oxford. The person of the king being now in the power of the army, the business of lieutenant-general Cromwell was to court his majesty (both by members of the army, and several gentlemen formerly in the king's service) into a god opinion and belief of the proceedings of the army, as also into a disaffection and dislike of the proceedings of parliament; pretending to shew that his majesties interests would far better suit with the principles of Independency, than of Presbytery. And when the king did alledge, (as many times he did) that the power of parliament was the power, by which we fought, lieutenant-general Cromwell would reply, that we were not only soldiers, but commoners; promising that the army would be for the king in the settlement of his whole business, if the king and his party would sit still, and not declare nor act against the army, but give them leave only to manage the present business in hand.

" That when the king was at Newmarket, the parliament thought fit to send to his majesty, humbly desiring, that, in order to his safety and their addresses for a speedy settlement, he would be pleased to come to Richmond. Contrary hereunto, resolution was taken by the aforesaid officers of the army, that if the king would not be diverted by perswasion (to which his majesty was very opposite) that then

and manage their affairs; talked insolently of,

they would stop him by force at Royston, where his majesty was to lodge the first night, keeping accordingly continual guard upon him, against any power that should be sent by order of parliament to take him from us: and to this purpose out-guards were also kept to prevent his escape from us with the commissioners, of whom we had special orders given to be careful, for that they did daily shew a dislike to the present proceedings of the army against the parliament, and that the king was most conversant and private in discourse with them, his majesty saying, that if any man should hinder his going (now his houses had desired him upon his late message of 12 May, 1647) it should be done by force, and laying hold on his bridle; which if any were so bold to do, he would endeavour to make it his last. But contrary to his majesties expectation, the next morning when the king and the officers of the army were putting this to an issue, came the votes of both houses to the king of their compliance with that which the army formerly desired. After which his majesty did incline to hearken to the desires of the army, and not before.

" Whereupon at Caversham, the king was continually sollicited by messengers from lieutenant-general Cromwell and commissary-general Ireton, proffering any thing his majesty should desire, as revenues, chaplains, wife, children, servants of his own, visitation of friends, access of letters, and (by commissary-general Ireton) that his negative voice should not be meddled withal, and that he had convinced those that reasoned against it at a general council of the army; and all this they would do, that his majesty might the better see into all our actions, and know our principles, which lead us to give him all these things out of conscience; for that we were not a people hating his majesties person or monarchical government, but that we liked it as the best, and that by this king; saying also, that they did hold it a very unreasonable thing for the parliament to abridge him of them; often promising, that if his majesty

and petitioned rudely the two houses; pre-

would sit still, and not act against them, they would in the first place restore him to all these, and upon the settlement of our own just rights and liberties, make him the most glorious prince in Christendom. That to this purpose, for a settlement they were making several proposals, to be offered to the commissioners of parliament then sent down to the army, which should be as bounds for our party as to the king's business; and that his majesty should have liberty to get as much of these abated as he could, for that many things therein were proposed only to give satisfaction to others, who were our friends; promising the king, that at the same time the commissioners of parliament should see these proposals, his majesty should have a copy of them also, pretending to carry a very equal hand between king and parliament, in order to the settlement of the kingdom by him; which besides their own judgments and conscience, they did see a necessity of it as to the people; commissary-general Ireton further saying, that what was offered in these proposals should be so just and reasonable, that if there were but six men in the kingdom that would fight to make them good, he would make the seventh against any power, that should oppose them.

"The head quarters being removed from Reading to Bedford, his majesty to Woburne, the proposals were given to me by commissary general Ireton, to present to the king; which his majesty having read, told me, that he would never treat with army or parliament upon these proposals, as he was then minded. But the next day his majesty understanding, that a force was put on his houses of parliament, by a tumult, sent for me again, and said unto me: 'Go along with Sir Jo. Berkeley to your general and lieutenant-general, and tell them, that to avoid a new war, I will now treat with them upon their proposals, or any thing else, in order to a peace: only let me be saved in honor and conscience.' Sir Jo. Berkeley falling sick by the way, I delivered this message to the lieutenant-

scribed to them the terms on which alone, as

general and to commissary-general Ireton, who advised me not to acquaint the general with it, till ten or twelve officers of the army were met together at the general's quarters, and then they would bethink themselves of some persons to be sent to the king about it. And accordingly commissary-general Ireton, colonel Rainsborow, colonel Hammond, and colonel Rich, attended the king at Woburne for three hours together, debating the whole business with the king, upon the proposals; upon which debate, many of the most material things the king disliked, were afterwards struck out, and many other things much abated by promises; whereupon his majesty was pretty well satisfied. Within a day or two after this, his majesty removed to Stoke, and there calling for me, told me, he feared an engagement between the city and the army, saying, he had not time to write any thing under his hand, but would send it to the general after me; commanding me to tell commissary-general Ireton, with whom he had formerly treated upon the proposals, that he would wholly throw himself upon us, and trust us for a settlement of the kingdom, as we had promised; saying, if we proved honest men, we should without question make the kingdom happy, and save much shedding of blood. This message from his majesty I delivered to commissary-general Ireton, at Colebrooke, who seemed to receive it with joy, saying, that we should be the veriest knaves that ever lived, if in every thing we made not good whatever we had promised, because the king, by his not declaring against us, had given us great advantage against our adversaries. After our marching through London with the army, his majesty being at Hampton-Court, lieutenant-general Cromwell and commissary-general Ireton sent the king word several times, that the reason why they made no more haste in his business was, because the party, which did then sit in the house, (while Pelham was speaker) did much obstruct the business, so that they could not carry it on at present; the lieutenant-general often saying,

they said, they would return into private life,

really they should be pulled out by the ears; and to that purpose caused a regiment of horse to rendezvous at Hyde-Park, to put that in execution (as he himself expressed) had it not been carried by vote in the house that day as he desired. The day before, the parliament voted once more the sending of the propositions of both kingdoms to the king, by the commissioners of each kingdom at Hampton-Court; commissary-general Ireton bade me tell the king, that such a thing was to be done to-morrow in the house, but his majesty need not be troubled at it, for that they intended it to no other end but to make good some promises of the parliament, which the nation of Scotland expected performance of. And that it was not expected or desired, his majesty should either sign them, or treat upon them, for which there should be no advantage taken against the king. Upon the delivery of which message, his majesty replyed, he knew not what answer to give to please all without a treaty. Next day after this vote passed, the lieutenant-general asking me thereupon, if the king did not wonder at these votes, I told him no; for that commissary-general Ireton had sent such a message by me the day before the vote passed, to signify the reason of it. The lieutenant-general replied, that really it was the truth, and that we (speaking of the parliament) intended nothing else by it, but to satisfy the Scott, which otherwise might be troublesome. And the lieutenant-general, and commissary-general enquiring after his majesties answer to the propositions, and what it would be, it was shewed them both privately in a garden-house at Putney, and in some parts amended to their own minds. But before this, the king doubting what answer to give, sent me to lieutenant-general Cromwell, as unsatisfied with the proceedings of the army, fearing they intended not to make good what they had promised, and the rather because his majesty understood that lieutenant-general Cromwell and commissary-general Ireton agreed with the rest of the house in some late votes that opposed

and live as citizens and subjects; and even

the proposals of the army. They severally replied, that they would not have his majesty mistrust them, for that since the house would go so high, they only concurred with them, that their unreasonableness might the better appear to the kingdom. And the lieutenant-general bade me further assure the king, that if the army remained an army, his majesty should trust the proposals with what was promised to be the worst of his conditions, which should be made for him; and then striking his hand on his breast in his chamber at Putney, bade me tell the king, he might rest confident and assured of it. And many times the same message hath been sent to the king from them both, with this addition from commissary-general Ireton, that they would purge, and purge, and never leave purging the houses, till they had made them of such a temper, as should do his majesties business; and rather than they would fall short of what was promised, he would join with French, Spaniard, cavalier, or any that would join with him to force them to it. Upon the delivery of which message, the king made answer, that if they do, they would do more than he durst do. After this the delay of the settlement of the kingdom was excused upon the commotions of colonel Martin and colonel Rainsborough, with their adherents; the lieutenant-general saying, that speedy course must be taken for outing of them, the house and army, because they were now putting the army into a mutiny, by having hand in publishing several printed papers, calling themselves the agents of five regiments, and the agreement of the people, although some men had encouragement from lieutenant-general Cromwell for the prosecution of those papers.

"And he being further prest to shew himself in it, he desired to be excused at the present, for that he might shew himself hereafter for their better advantage; though in the company of those men, which were of different judgments, he would often say, that these people were a giddy-

compelled the parliament, by whose authority

headed party, and that there was no trust or truth in them; and to that purpose wrote a letter to col. Whaley that day the king went from Hampton-Court, intimating doubtfully that his majesties person was in danger from them, and that he should keep out guard to prevent them; which letter was presently shewed to the king by col. Whaley. That about six days after, when it was fully known by the parliament and army, that the king was in the isle of Wight, commissary-general Ireton standing by the fire-side in his quarters at Kingston, and some speaking of an agreement likely to be made between the king and parliament, now the person of the king was out of the power of the army; commissary-general Ireton replied with a discontented countenance, that he hoped it would be such a peace as we might with a good conscience fight against them both. Thus they, who at the first taking the king from Holdenby into the power of the army, cried down presbyterian government, the proceedings of this present parliament, and their perpetuity, and instead thereof held forth an earnest inclination to a moderated episcopacy, with a new election of members to sit in parliament for the speedy settlement of the kingdom; and afterwards when the eleven members had left the house, and the marching through London with the army, the seven lords impeached, the four aldermen of London committed to the Tower, and other citizens committed also, then again they cried up presbyterian government, the perpetuity of this present parliament, lieutenant-general Cromwell farther pleasing himself with the great sums of money which were in arrears from each county to the army, and the taxes of 60,000 *l. per* month for our maintenance. Now, saith he, we may be, for ought I know, an army as long as we live. And since the sending for the orders of parliament for the calling of their members together, lieutenant-general Cromwell perceiving the houses would not answer his expectation, he is now again uttering words perswading the hearers to a prejudice against pro-

they had been raised, in whose name they had

ceedings of parliament, again crying down the presbyterian government, setting up a single interest, which he calls an honest interest, and that we have done ill in forsaking it. To this purpose it was lately thought fit, to put the army upon chusing new agitators, and to draw forth of the houses of parliament 60 or 70 of the members thereof, much agreeing with his words he spake formerly in his chamber at Kingston, saying, What a sway Stapelton and Holles had heretofore in the kingdom, and he knew nothing to the contrary, but that he was as well able to govern the kingdom as either of them; so that, in all his discourse, nothing more appeareth, than his seeking after the government of king, parliament, city and kingdom. For effecting whereof he thought it necessary, and delivered it as his judgment, that a considerable part of the chief citizens of London, and some in every county, be clapt up in castles and garrisons, for the more quiet and submissive carriage of every place to which they belong: further saying, That, from the rising of the late tumult in London, there should be an occasion taken to hang the recorder and aldermen of London, then in the Tower, that the city might see the more they did stir in opposition, the more they should suffer; adding, that the city must first be made an example. And, since that lieutenant-general Cromwell was sent down from the parliament, for the reducing the army to their obedience, he hath most frequently, in publick and private, delivered these ensuing heads, as his principles, from whence all the foregoing particulars have ensued, being fully confirmed (as I humbly conceive) by his practice in the transaction of his last year's business.

" 1. First, that every single man is judge of just and right as to the good and ill of a kingdom.

" 2. That the interest of honest men is the interest of the kingdom; and that those only are deemed honest men by him, that are conformable to his judgment and practice,

fought, and by whom they had been paid, to

may appear in many particulars; to instance but one, in the choice of colonel Rainsbrough to be vice-admiral, lieutenant-general Cromwell being asked how he could trust a man, whose interest was so directly opposite to what he had professed, and one whom he had lately aimed to remove from all places of trust? he answered, that he had now received particular assurance from colonel Rainsborough, as great as could be given by man, that he would be conformable to the judgment and direction of himself and commissary-general Ireton, for the managing of the whole business at sea.

"3. That it is lawful to pass through any forms of government for the accomplishing his ends; and therefore either to purge the houses, and support the remaining party, by force everlastingly, or to put a period to them by force, is very lawful and suitable to the interest of honest men.

"4. That it is lawful to play the knave with a knave.

"These gentlemen aforesaid in the army, thus principled, and (as by many other circumstances might appear) acting accordingly, give too much cause to believe, that the success which may be obtained by the army (except timely prevented by the wisdom of the parliament) will be made use of to the destroying of all that power, for which we first engaged; and having, for above these twelve months past (sadly and with much reluctance) observed these several passages aforesaid, yet with some hopes, that at length there might be a returning to the obedience of parliament; and, contrary hereunto, knowing that resolutions were taken up, that, in case the power of parliament cannot be gained to countenance their designs, then to proceed without it: I, therefore, choose to quit myself of my command, wherein I have served the parliament these five years last past, and put myself upon the greatest hazard by discovering these truths, rather than, by hopes of gain, with a troubled mind, continue an abettor or assistant of such as give affronts to the parliament and kingdom, by abusing their

crase out of their journals what was displeasing

power and authority, to carry on their particular designs, against whom, in the midst of danger, I shall ever aver the truth of this narrative, and myself to be a constant, faithful and obedient servant to the parliament of England[a].

"ROB. HUNTINGTON."

Aug. 2, 1648.

This paper fully manifests the principles and the ambition of Cromwell; and is written with such a spirit and air of truth, as strongly inclines one to believe it. Mr. Whitlock tells us, it was confirmed by Huntington, on oath, in the house of lords[b], though no mention is at all made of it in the journals of the house of commons. This may probably be accounted for by the following passages in one of the weekly writers of that time. "He [Huntington] endeavoured likewise to present it to the commons, but (such is the terror of that huge trifle, or idol of the faction) that none would be seen to move in the house; which being perceived by the major, he made bold to present it to Mr. Speaker's own self, who, being a new creature of Oliver's, of about a twelvemonth's standing, durst not countenance such a piece of blasphemy against his creator; so that, at length, the major went and tendered it to Mr. Berket, the serjeant at arms: but he, being of the same temper with his good masters, told him, he had nothing to say to it[c]." This is remarkable. Mr. Ludlow, perhaps, will give us the reason of it. "These affairs (the insurrection in Wales, and the motions in Scotland in behalf of the king) necessitated the parliament to raise the militia, in order to oppose this malevolent spirit which threatened them from the north, and also prevailed with them to discountenance a charge of high treason framed by major Huntington, an officer of the army, with the advice of some members of both houses, against lieu-

[a] Thurloe, vol. I. p. 94. [b] Memorials, p. 327. [c] Mercurius Pragmaticus, Aug. 1—8, 1648.

to them[26], or contrary to their humours. This

tenant-general Cromwell, for endeavouring, by betraying the king, parliament and army, to advance himself; it being manifest, that the preferring this accusation at that time, was principally designed to take him off from his command, and thereby to weaken the army, that their enemies might be the better enabled to prevail against them[a]." It possibly, also, was not deemed safe to countenance an accusation of this kind against the master of legions. However, in justice to the character of Cromwell, it is fit the reader should be informed, that Milton declares the whole accusation was owing to the hatred and malice of the presbyterian faction. Hear his words. "Dum is communem hostem cum vitæ discrimine propulsat hi [Presbyteriani] militantem pro sese & in acie fortiter dimicantem confictis criminibus accusant domi; & Huntingtonum centurionem quendam in ejus caput subornant.——Huntingtonus autem ille accusator, impunis & sui juris relictus, tandem pœnitentia ductus, ipse sua sponte a Cromuello veniam petiit, & a quibus esset subornatus ultro fassus est[b]." i. e. "Whilst he staves off the enemy at the peril of his life, these [the Presbyterians] accuse him, fighting bravely for them, and amidst the very encounter itself, of feigned crimes, and suborn one major Huntington against his head.——And that accuser Huntington, unpunished and left to his own liberty, at length, struck with remorse, came of himself, and besought Cromwell's pardon, and freely confessed by whom he had been suborned."——I shall conclude this note with observing, that Mr. Wood informs us, that "major Huntington hated Oliver for his diabolical proceedings, and was hated by him again so much, that he imprisoned him several times[c]." This looks not as if he had asked pardon, and confessed his fault.

[26] The soldiery instigated by Cromwell, refused to dis-

[a] Ludlow, vol. I. p. 253. [b] Milton's Prose Works, vol. II. p. 396.
[c] Wood's Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. II. c. 1174.

was but the beginning, however, of that au-

band, &c.] A good part of the proofs of this may be found in the foregoing note. But, as the testimony of an adversary may not be so satisfactory, we will give such farther evidence as is unquestionable.——It is well known, that, after the decline of the king's affairs, through the valour and conduct of the new modelled army, he departed from Oxford in disguise, and threw himself into the hands of the Scots, then laying siege to Newark. It is not unlikely his majesty thought that they would have afforded him both protection and assistance, as he well knew great debates had arisen between them and the English parliament, and that there was no love towards each other subsisting. In truth neither seem to have had any great cause to be satisfied. However, the king soon found himself mistaken. Though the Scots treated him with great outward respect, and spake him fair, yet they intended not to join his party, or attempt to restore him to his former greatness, in opposition to the English, in whose pay, as well as alliance, they were.——They, therefore, persuaded his majesty to relinquish the few remaining garrisons he had left, which, accordingly, he did, and to enter into a negociation for peace with his kingdoms. In a petition of the earl of Leven, lord-general, the general officers, colonels, captains, &c. of the Scots army, presented to his majesty at Newcastle, dated June 26, 1646, we have the following passages: "We do make it our humble address, and tender this earnest petition to your majesty in our name, and in the name of all the inferior commanders and soldiers under our charge, that your majesty, in your wisdom and goodness, may be pleased to take a speedy course for settling of religion and church government in this kingdom, according to the word of God, and examples of the best reformed churches, and bringing the churches of the three kingdoms to the nearest conjunction and uniformity, and for establishing the privileges and liberties of your kingdoms according to the desires of your good people. We may not conceal our un-

thority which they soon after acquired and

feigned grief, for that your majesty hath not yet been pleased to authorise and sign the covenant, which, we are confident, would bring honour to God, happiness to yourself and posterity, and endear your majesty, above measure, to all your faithful and loyal subjects; in the just defence whereof, as many of them have already lost their lives, so are we ready to sacrifice ours. We must also pray your majesty to compassionate the distressed condition of your kingdoms, groaning under the heavy pressures of manifold calamities, occasioned by the continuance of this unnatural war; and to comply with the councils of your parliaments; that all differences being happily composed, and the armies in both kingdoms disbanded, we may return home in peace, or be disposed of otherwise by your majesty, with the advice of your parliaments, which may be most for your majesty's honour and service, and the prosperity of these kingdoms[a]." This address, which seems to have been very conformable to the sentiments of the then ruling party in Scotland, one would think must have undeceived Charles with regard to his hopes from this army. For the covenant, and compliance with the councils of parliaments, were grating sounds in his ears, and announced the utterers far from friends.——What followed is well known. Propositions were sent to the king from both houses of parliament to Newcastle; long debates were carried on between him and Mr. Henderson concerning church government, and things still remained as they were. At length the controversies between England and Scotland were concluded by articles of agreement; whereby, on the payment of two hundred thousand pounds in hand, and a promise of the same sum hereafter, the Scots consented to quit all the places of strength held by them in England, and return to their own country. No mention is made in these articles concerning the king's person; but the commissioners of

[a] Parliamentary History, vol. XV. p. 13.

brought to an height unknown to the English

both nations understood the intentions of their principals, and therefore, "on the delivery of the arrears for the payment of the army, the Scottish army withdrew, and left the king in the hands of the English, who presently send him to Holmby[a]."

All things now seemed favourable to the parliament of England. Every foe was subdued at home, and the king himself a captive. Now, therefore, was the time for easing the kingdom from the heavy oppressions, which, for more than four years, it had groaned under, as well as to establish peace on lasting foundations. As the army had been raised and maintained at a vast expence, nothing was more natural or reasonable than to think, as soon as might be, of reducing it. Accordingly, February 19, 1646, O. S. the question being put in the house of commons, "whether there should be a number of foot kept up at the pay of the kingdom, more than what will be sufficient for the keeping of such garrisons as shall be continued;" it passed in the negative by a majority of ten[b]. On the 23d of the same month, the house proceeded to the consideration of the business concerning the garrisons, and on that, and many days afterwards, ordered that no garrison should be kept in some places; that the works of others should be slighted, and some of the most important continued, viz. Plymouth, Exeter-castle, Poole, Weymouth, Portland, Hull, Scarborough-castle, Liverpoole, Newcastle, and some others, deemed, as I suppose, at that time, of importance.

On the 25th of March following, some officers of the army petitioned the house of lords, and, besides requesting the payment of their arrears, and an act of indemnity which they undoubtedly had a right to, they desired an "opportune and timely answer" to their requests, "that the public worship of God may be speedily settled according to the word of God and the examples of the best reformed

[a] Burnet's Memoirs of Hamilton, p. 312. folio, 1677. [b] Journal.

nation.——Not content with the concessions

churches. That the subject may have the benefit of *Magna Charta*, and the petition of right, so far forth as may comport with the necessities of the kingdom. That all committees in the several counties may be removed; and that the treasurers and sequestrators of the said counties may be called to a speedy and strict account, for the better satisfaction and ease of the kingdom:" Together with many other things relative to themselves as officers, declaring, at the same time, that some of them had already engaged themselves for Ireland, and that the rest were ready to contribute their best assistance thereunto. Whereupon the officers, who subscribed the petition, were called in, and had for answer, "That the house gave them thanks for their good affections to them, and their services to the kingdom and parliament; and that they take it well concerning their offer for Ireland: and, as to their arrears, their lordships will do their parts, and will take their petition into consideration." The same day a copy of this petition was presented to the house of commons by the same officers, to whom the house sent out four of their members with the following answer: "That, as to their arrears, the house had and would take them into consideration, with others, in such manner as they should think fit, as well as their desires of employment. That, as to the rest of the petition, about the management of public affairs, it did not concern any persons to give instructions to the houses therein; yet, in consideration the petitioners were men that had done service to the parliament, and, in regard of their professions, and that they might have done this merely out of inadvertency, they were willing to pass it by[a]." I have given this answer on the authority of the Parliamentary History, not being able to find it in the journals of the house of commons. However, certain it is, that house was greatly alarmed at some petitions which were then set on foot among the officers of the army: for, on the

[a] Parliamentary History, vol. XV. p. 340.

made them by both houses, they had the inso-

27th of March 1647, it was resolved, that a letter be written to Sir Thomas Fairfax, general, to acquaint him, that this house hath been informed, that a petition is carrying on in the army: that he would take some course, by the best means he can, to make a stop of it; and that a copy of the petition, delivered into this house this day, be sent to the general[a]." And, on the 29th of the same month, a letter, directed to colonel Rossiter, of 28° *Martii*, at noon, signed H. with a paper inclosed, styled, "the heads of a petition," endeavoured to be obtruded, as the sense of the army, delivered in to colonel Rossiter, was this day read. Resolved, &c. That thanks be given to colonel Rossiter and colonel Harley, for these timely informations. It was, moreover, resolved, That the general should be desired to give order, that several officers [supposed to be concerned in the framing and signing the petition] do attend the house, and that the committee appointed for this affair should have power to examine commissary-general Ireton. And a declaration appointed, prepared and brought in, with regard to the army, was now reported by Mr. Holles, who had always appeared with great zeal against the army party in the house. This declaration does not appear in the journals, it being expunged June 3, 1647, at the desire or demand of the army.——The petition, referred to in these votes, contained a request for indemnity before disbanding; that satisfaction also be given them for their arrears; that they might not be compelled, by press or otherwise, to serve out of the kingdom; that they might have satisfaction for the losses they had sustained by adhering to the parliament, and a present supply of money. These were bold demands, and sufficient to rouse the attention and resentment of parliament, who ordered the following declaration (the same which was inserted, but is now expunged in the journals) to be printed and published, and a number of copies thereof sent down in a letter to Sir Thomas Fairfax. "The two houses of parliament having

[a] Journal.

lence to take the king out of the hands of the

received information of a dangerous petition, with a representation annexed, tending to put the army into a distemper and mutiny, to put conditions upon the parliament, and obstruct the relief of Ireland, which hath been contrived and promoted by some persons in the army; they do declare their high dislike of that petition, their approbation and esteem of their good service who first discovered it, and of such officers and soldiers as have refused to join in it; and that, for such as have been abused, and, by the persuasions of others, drawn to subscribe it, if they shall, for the future, manifest their dislike of what they have done, by forbearing to proceed any further therein, it shall not be looked on as any cause to take away the remembrance and sense the houses have of the good services they have formerly done, but they shall be still retained in their good opinion, and shall be cared for with the rest of the army, in all things necessary and fitting for the satisfaction of persons that have done so good and faithful service, and as may be expected from a parliament so careful to perform all things appertaining to honour and justice: and, on the other side, it is declared, That all those who shall continue in their distempered condition, and go on in advancing and promoting that petition, shall be looked upon, and proceeded against, as enemies to the state, and disturbers of the public peace[s]."

Sir Thomas Fairfax returned an answer to the letter and declaration, full of duty and respect: but the soldiers undertook to vindicate their conduct, notwithstanding the lords had voted for the disbanding of such as would not engage themselves in the service of Ireland. This was done in a very bold piece, intitled, "A vindication of the officers of the army under Sir Thomas Fairfax;" in which, after insisting, that they had not said or done any thing unreasonable, they tell the commons, "that the sense of such expressions

[s] Parliamentary History, vol. XV. p. 344.

parliament's commissioners at Holdenby, to

[as were contained in the foregoing declaration] was so irksome to them, who had ventured whatever they esteemed dear to them in this world, for the preservation of the freedom and privilege of that house, that they could not but earnestly implore their justice in the vindication of them." This petition was signed by a very great number of officers. After the reading this in the house, April 30, 1647, major-general Skippon produced a letter, presented to him the day before by some troopers of several regiments in the army, in behalf of eight regiments of horse; in which, after many high and insolent expressions, they declared, "that they would neither be employed for the service of Ireland, nor suffer themselves to be disbanded, till their desires were granted, and the rights and liberties of the subject should be vindicated and maintained[a]." In short, the disputes were carried on with great warmth between the parliament and the army. But the disputants were but ill matched. Votes were overpowered by arms; eloquence was dumb under the power of the sword. Though the parliament ordered part of the army to disband, and others to go for Ireland; though they promised, flattered and threatened such as were indisposed to obey; it was all in vain. The army was as one body, and no impression was to be made on it. Therefore, finding contesting with it was to no purpose, especially after the seizing the king, by Joyce, at Holdenby, the house of commons, on the 15th of June, resolved, That the officers of this army, not in commission, shall have their full pay, upon their disbanding or engaging for Ireland, deducting for free quarters according to the course and rule of the army: that 10000*l.* be allowed to the reduced officers: that the common soldiers should have their full pay, on the footing of the officers: that commis-

[a] Parliamentary History, vol. XV. p. 359. A letter of almost the very same words, directed to lieutenant-general Cromwell, was by him delivered to Mr. Speaker. It was informed, the like was delivered to the general.—Journal, April 30, 1647.

sion-officers should have a month's additional pay on their disbanding: that the declaration of both houses, on the 30th of March last, be expunged. This last vote was a bitter pill [a], and met (as might be expected, where there was a sense of honour, or any tolerable share of spirit remaining) with considerable opposition, both in the house of lords and commons. In both it was debated, but carried in the affirmative by a majority. "Here," says Whitlock, "the parliament began to surrender themselves and their power into the hands of their own army [b]." Such were the beginnings of the quarrel between the civil and military powers. Cromwell's name does not appear in any of these proceedings hitherto. But the writers, who lived in those times, agree, that he was looked on to be at the bottom of them. "Others were not wanting," says Ludlow, "who resolved the securing lieutenant-general Cromwell, suspecting that he had, underhand, given countenance to this design; but, he being advertised of it, went that afternoon towards the army, so that they missed of him, and were not willing to shew their teeth since they could do no more [c]." Holles charges him with the same fault, and speaks likewise of his going down to the army, on his being suspected by the house, and joining in the subscription of a rebellious letter [d]. Lord Clarendon, speaking of these matters, says, "Crom-

[a] This will appear from the ordinance for the repeal of the declaration, which runs thus in the Journal:——"Whereas the lords and commons did, by a declaration of the 30th of March last, declare their sense upon a petition, with the representation thereunto annexed: and whereas they have been since informed, that the petitioners intended not thereby to give any offence to the parliament, or any way to reflect upon, or lessen their authority: and calling to mind the great and eminent service done by the army to the parliament and kingdom: the lords and commons, being tender of the honour of the said army, have thought fit to ordain and declare, and be it declared and ordained, by the said lords and commons, in the parliament of England assembled, and by the authority of the same, that the said former declaration, of the 30th of March, be rased and expunged out of the records and books of the said houses; and wholly taken away, and made void: and that no member of the said army shall receive any damage, prejudice or reproach, for any thing in the said former declaration."

[b] Whitlock, p. 250. [c] Ludlow, vol. I. p. 190.

[d] See the quotation from Holles in note 20.

well hitherto carried himself with that rare dissimulation (in which, sure, he was a very great master) that he seemed exceedingly incensed against this insolence of the soldiers; was still in the house of commons when any such addresses was made; and inveighed bitterly against the presumption, and had been the cause of the commitment, of some of the officers. He proposed that the general might be sent down to the army, who, he said, would conjure down this mutinous spirit quickly; and he was so easily believed, that he himself was sent once[a] or twice to compose the army; when, after he had staid two or three days, he would again return to the house, and complain heavily of the great licence that was got into the army: that, for his own part, by the artifice of his enemies, and of those who desired that the nation should be again imbrewed in blood, he was rendered so odious unto them, that they had a purpose to kill him, if, upon some discovery made to him, he had not escaped out of their hands. And in these and the like discourses, when he spake of the nation's being to be involved in new troubles, he would weep bitterly, and appear the most afflicted man in the world with the sense of the calamities which were like to ensue. But, as many of the wiser sort had long discovered his wicked intentions, so his hypocrisy could no longer be concealed. The most active officers and agitators were known to be his own creatures, and such who neither did, nor would, do any thing but by his direction. So that it was privately resolved, by the principal persons of the house of commons, that, when he came the next day into the house, which he seldom omitted to do, they would send him to the Tower; presuming, that, if they had once severed his person from the army, they should easily reduce it to its former temper and obedience: for they had not the least jealousy of the general Fairfax,

[a] In the Journal of the 30th of April 1647, we find it resolved, &c. That field-marshal Skippon, lieutenant-general Cromwell, commissary Ireton, and colonel Fleetwood, be injoined forthwith to go down to their charges in the army, and employ their endeavours to quiet all distempers in the army.——The house, probably, were led into favourable opinions of these officers from Skippon's and Cromwell's delivering that day the letters they had received from the troopers.

whom he had been delivered by the Scots, in

whom they knew to be a perfect presbyterian in judgment, and that Cromwell had the ascendant over him, purely by his dissimulation and pretence of conscience and sincerity: There is no doubt, Fairfax did not then, nor long after, believe that the other had those wicked designs in his heart against the king, or the least imagination of disobeying the parliament. This purpose, of seizing upon the person of Cromwell, could not be carried so secretly, but that he had notice of it; and the very next morning, after he had so much lamented his desperate misfortune, in having lost all reputation, and credit, and authority, in the army, and that his life would be in danger if he were with it; when the house expected every minute his presence, they were informed, that he was met out of town, by break of day, with one servant only, on the way to the army; where he had appointed a rendezvous of some regiments of the horse, and from whence he writ a letter to the house of commons, That having the night before received a letter from some officers of his own regiment, that the jealousy the troops had conceived of him, and of his want of kindness towards them, was much abated, so that they believed, if he would be quickly present with them, they would all in a short time, by his advice, be reclaimed: upon this he had made all the haste he could, and did find that the soldiers had been abused by misinformation; and that he hoped to discover the fountain from whence it sprung; and, in the mean time, desired that the general, and the other officers in the house, and such as remained about the town, might be presently sent to their quarters; and that he believed it would be very necessary, in order to the suppression of the late distempers, and for the prevention of the like for the time to come, that there might be a general rendezvous of the army; of which the general would best consider when he came down, which he wished might be hastened. It was now to no purpose to discover what they had formerly intended, or that they had any jealousy of a person who was out of their reach; and

opposition to the authority of parliament [27],

so they expected a better conjuncture; and, in a few days after, the general, and the other officers, left the town, and went to their quarters [a]."——These concurrent testimonies will, I presume, clearly evince that Cromwell was deemed the chief raiser and manager of the storm which carried all things before it, and levelled whatever came in its way. Fairfax, the general, declares strongly his disinclination to, and his abhorrence of, these proceedings. He attributes them to the agitators: but, I believe, he deemed Cromwell the chief of them, and had him and Ireton in his eye in the following passage: "This mercy [the success of the army in the years 1645 and 1646] was soon clouded with abominable hypocrisy and deceit, even in those men who had been instrumental in bringing this war to a conclusion. Here was the vertical point on which the army's honour and reputation turned into a reproach and scandal. Here the power of the army I once had was usurped by the agitators, the forerunners of confusion and anarchy [b]." None but these men were able to usurp Fairfax's power of the army.

[27] They took the king out of the hands of the commissioners of the parliament, &c.] Cromwell seems to have been determined at all events to secure and enlarge his power and authority. The tumults and commotions raised by his means were intended as trials of his capacity and influence over the army. The success he had in these emboldened him, and caused him to aspire to something beyond what he yet was. Fully sensible that the parliament, though through fear it had truckled to him, yet hated him heartily, and longed only to crush him, as they would have done on the conclusion of a peace with the king: fully sensible, I say, of this, he determined to prevent them, and to give the law both to Charles and the parliament. For this end he secretly urged on the agitators to seize his majesty's

[a] Clarendon, vol. V. p. 46. [b] Short Memorials, p. 103.

and the sentiments of Fairfax. This opened a new scene.——His majesty was treated with

person, and thereby put it out of the power of the houses to conclude any thing with him, without the army's consent and approbation.——The following authorities will explain and enlarge what is here said. "One thing was yet wanting (as they [the managers of the army] thought) for the carrying on their design, and amusing the poor people of England with an expectation of their settling a peace, so to make them sit still and look on, whilst they trampled upon parliament, city and kingdom; which was to be possest of the king's person, and make the world believe they would bring him up to his parliament, and set him on his throne. For this, it seems, a meeting was appointed at lieutenant-general Cromwell's, upon the thirtieth of May, where it is resolved, That cornet Joyce should, with a party of horse, go to Holmby and seize upon his majesty; which is presently executed, and given out that others had the like design, which they had prevented[a]. At first it must seem only the act of Mr. Joyce; Cromwell protested he knew nothing of it (though he was the man that appointed it to be done, as appears by what has been recited, taken out of some of their own authors); Sir Thomas Fairfax writes a letter to the house, professes the same for himself as in the presence of God, with a large undertaking for the rest of his officers, and the body of the army: and, perhaps, he said true; I would fain be so charitable as to believe it; nor, indeed, do I think the good man is privy to all their plots; he must have no more than what they are pleased to carve and chew for him, but must swallow all, and own them when they come abroad. Here then they have the king, Joyce drives away the guards, forced colonel Greaves to fly, whom else they threatened to kill (murther being no sin in the visible saints); carries away his majesty, and the commissioners that attend him, prisoners, and immediately sends

[a] See Huntington's account of this in note 25.

very great respect by the army; every thing was rendered as agreeable as possible to him,

up a letter to certify what he had done, with directions it should be delivered to Cromwell[a]." Ludlow, who understood the designs and actions of the army, probably, better than Holles, speaking of the divisions between it and the parliament, adds, "The agitators of the army, sensible of their condition, and knowing that they must fall under the mercy of the parliament, unless they could secure themselves from their power, by prosecuting what they had begun; and fearing those who had shewed themselves so forward to close with the king, out of principle, upon any terms, would now, for their own preservation, receive him without any, or rather put themselves under his protection, that they might the better subdue the army, and reduce them to obedience by force; sent a party of horse under the command of cornet Joyce, on the 4th of June, 1647, with an order in writing, to take the king out of the hands of the commissioners of parliament. The cornet, having placed guards about Holmby house, sent to acquaint the king with the occasion of his coming, and was admitted into his bedchamber, where, upon promise that the king should be used civilly, and have his servants and other conveniencies continued to him, he obtained his consent to go with him. But whilst cornet Joyce was giving orders concerning the king's removal, the parliament's commissioners took that occasion to discourse with the king, and persuaded him to alter his resolution; which Joyce perceiving at his return, put the king in mind of his promise, acquainting him, that he was obliged to execute his orders; whereupon the king told him, that, since he had passed his word, he would go with him; and, to that end, descended the stairs to take horse, the commissioners of the parliament being with him. Colonel Brown and Mr. Crew, who were two of them, publickly declared, that the king was forced out of their hands;

[a] Holles's Memoirs, p. 96

in his captive situation, and Cromwell entered into a negotiation with him, in order to his

and so returned, with an account of what had been done, to the parliament[a]." This was a very bold stroke indeed! performed in the name of soldiers only under the command of Fairfax, but no doubt contrived by Cromwell and Ireton, in order to make themselves arbiters between king and parliament, and advance their own ambitious projects. Lord Clarendon assures us, that "the king did, in truth, believe that their purpose was to carry him to some place where they might more conveniently murder him[b]." The author of the Icon Basilike more sensibly observes, in his majesty's person, "This surprize of me tells the world, that a king cannot be so low but he is considerable, adding weight to that party where he appears[c]." The king had no reason to fear murder: Joyce behaved with civility to him; promised him all conveniencies; did what in him lay to please him, and rendered him more pleased with his situation than he had before been. Let us hear Fairfax. "So soon as I heard of it [the king's seizure at Holmby] I immediately sent away two regiments of horse, commanded by colonel Whalley, to remove this force, and to set all things again in their due order. But before he came to Holmby, the king was advanced two or three miles on his way to Cambridge, attended by Joyce, where colonel Whalley acquainted the King, he was sent by the general to let him know how much he was troubled at those great insolencies that had been committed so near his person; and, as he had not the least knowledge of them before they were done, so he had omitted no time in seeking to remove that force, which he had orders from me to see done; and therefore he desired his majesty that he would be pleased to return again to Holmby, where all things should be settled again in as much order and quietness as they were before. And also he desired the

[a] Ludlow, vol. 1. p. 191. [b] Clarendon, vol. V. p. 43.
[c] King Charles's Works, p. 705. fol. Lond. 1657.

restoration; but terms being not agreed on, or

commissioners to reassume their charge, as the parliament had directed them, which he was also to desire them to do from the general. But the king refused to return, and the commissioners to act; whereupon colonel Whalley urged them to it, saying he had an express command to see all things well settled about his majesty, which could not be done, but by his returning again to Holmby. The king said positively, he would not do it: so the colonel pressed him no more to it, having, indeed, a special direction from me to use all tenderness and respect, as was due to his majesty. The king came that night, or the next, to Sir John Cutts's house near Cambridge; and the next day I waited on his majesty, it being also my business to persuade his return to Holmby, but he was otherwise resolved. I prest the commissioners also to act according to the power given them by the parliament, which they also refused to do: so having spent the whole day about this business, I returned to my quarters; and, as I took leave of the king, he said to me, Sir, I have as good interest in the army as you; by which I plainly saw the broken reed he leaned on. The agitators could change into that colour which served next to their ends, and had brought the king into an opinion that the army was for him. That it might appear what a real trouble this act was to me, though the army was almost wholly infected with this humour of agitation, I called for a council of war to proceed against Joyce for this high offence and breach of the articles of war; but the officers, whether for fear of the distempered soldiers, or rather (as I suspected) a secret allowance of what was done, made all my endeavours in this ineffectual[a]." I have transcribed Fairfax's account at length, that the reader may the better be enabled to judge of the justice of Clarendon's narrative above mentioned, and also of the truth of the message, delivered to the house of lords by the earl of Dumfermline, from the king, "that his

[a] Fairfax's Short Memorials, p. 113—117.

dangers of some kind or other[28] being appre-

majesty went from Holdenby unwillingly[a]."——"Thus," says Perinchief, "was that religious prince made once more the mock of fortune, and the sport of the factious, and was drawn from his peaceful contemplations and prospect of heaven, to behold and converse with men set on fire of hell[b]." Whether the reader be disposed to laugh or be serious at this solemn paragraph is very indifferent to me; but the writer, who composed it, stands little chance for credit with such as with attention have studied the character of his hero.

[28] Terms being not agreed on, or danger being apprehended, Cromwell broke off all thoughts of friendship with Charles, &c.] The king no sooner found himself in the hands of the army, than he had reason to be satisfied with their civility and respect. Ludlow, with some indignation, speaks of the attendance and homage that was paid him by some chief officers. Lord Clarendon has given us a particular account of the treatment he received, which I will here transcribe for the satisfaction of the reader.——"The king found himself at Newmarket, attended by greater troops and superior officers; so that he was presently freed from any subjection to Mr. Joyce, which was no small satisfaction to him; and they who were about him appeared men of better breeding than the former, and paid his majesty all the respect imaginable, and seemed to desire to please him in all things. All restraint was taken off from persons resorting to him, and he saw every day the faces of many who were grateful to him; and he no sooner desired that some of his chaplains might have leave to attend upon him for his devotion, but it was yielded to, and they who were named by him (who were Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Morley, Dr. Sanderson, and Dr. Hammond) were presently sent, and gave their attendance, and performed their functions at the

[a] Parliamentary History, vol. XV. p. 399. [b] Life of K. Charles, prefixed to his Works, p. 40.

hended, Cromwell broke off all thoughts of

ordinary hours, in their accustomed formalities; all persons, who had a mind to it, being suffered to be present, to his majesty's infinite satisfaction, who began to believe that the army was not so much his enemy as it was reported to be; and the army had sent an address to him full of protestation of duty, and besought him, that 'he would be content, for some time, to reside among them, until the affairs of the kingdom were put into such a posture as he might find all things to his own content and security, which they infinitely desired to see as soon as might be; and, to that purpose, made daily instances to the parliament.' In the mean time his majesty sate still, or removed to such places as were most convenient for the march of the army; being in all places as well provided for and accommodated, as he had used to be in any progress: the best gentlemen, of the several counties through which he passed, daily resorted to him, without distinction: he was attended by some of his old trusty servants in the places nearest his person: and that which gave him most encouragement to believe that they meant well, was, that in the army's address to the parliament, they desired that care might be taken for settling the king's rights, according to the several professions they had made in their declarations; and that the royal party might be treated with more candour and less rigour: and many good officers, who had served his majesty faithfully, were civilly received by the officers of the army, and lived quietly in their quarters, which they could not do any where else; which raised a great reputation to the army throughout the kingdom, and as much reproach upon the parliament[a]." What the consequence of all this was, I have elsewhere, at large, shewn[b]. Suffice it here to say, that Charles might have had reasonable good terms, his condition considered, from Cromwell and Ireton; but, on

[a] Clarendon, vol. V. p. 50.

[b] Vol. II. of this Work, p. 450.

friendship with the king, and openly declared

refusing to close with them frankly, he lost the opportunity he then had, and rendered them his most avowed enemies. The sincerity of Cromwell, in his negotiations with the king at this juncture, is called in question, by a very late writer, in the following words: "Had these been sincerely his sentiments [affection and regard for the king] he would never have altered them, for the king gave him no occasion; since it is clearly proved, that his final answer to the proposals which were made him, not only spoke the sense of him and Ireton, as the king conceived it, but was altered by their hands till it satisfied themselves. Had he been really inclined to restore the king, he might have done it now with a high hand; a great majority of the parliament were for him; the city of London was in their sentiments; the measures taken by the Scots, and the insurrections in several counties in his favour, shew, that this was also the sense of the nation: if, therefore, lieutenant-general Cromwell had made use of his wonderful capacity, to dispose the army not to any new design, but to have performed their own promises; he might have settled the government upon its old foundation, and have made himself a very great man[a]." i. e. he might have been made earl of Essex, and knight of the garter, things said to be promised him by the king, as well as the advancement of his son, and his son-in-law Ireton, to posts of high honour and dignity[b]. I will not warrant what is here said concerning the honours promised to Cromwell and his family: the writer, from whom I quote it, is of too little authority to have any great stress laid on his unsupported narrative; nor will I make any remarks on the reasonings just recited, any farther than to observe, that Cromwell had probably sufficient cause to alter his sentiments, with respect to the expediency of concluding a peace with Charles, and reinstating him in his power. Sufficient cause he had, I say, for this: for his treaty with the king

[a] Biographia Britannica, p. 1552. [b] Flagellum, p. 55.

for bringing him to justice. In order to which,

was very ill resented by the agitators, after Charles had so long dallied with the army, and neglected to comply with the terms proposed for his safety and restoration. Cromwell had got the better of these men, indeed, at the rendezvous at Ware, by the death of one, and making prisoners of others. But their spirit was unconquerable. "Two thirds of the army had been since with Ireton and Cromwell, to tell them, that, though they were certain to perish in the enterprize, they would leave nothing unattempted to bring the whole army to their sense; and that, if all failed, they would make a division in the army, and join with any who would assist them in the destruction of those that should oppose them."—Upon this bold declaration it is said Cromwell and Ireton argued thus: "If the army divide, the greater part will join with the presbyters, and will, in all likelihood, prevail, to our ruin, by forcing us to make our applications to the king, wherein we shall rather beg than offer any assistance, which if the king should give, and afterwards have the good fortune to prevail, if he should then pardon us, it will be all we can pretend, and more than we can certainly promise ourselves: thereupon concluding, that, if they could not bring the army to their sense, that it was best to comply with them, a schism being utterly destructive to both [a]."

Lord Holles, speaking of Cromwell's treaty with the king, owns the danger he was at length in from the army on that account: "The party [of the agitators] would not give way to this [the agreement with his majesty]; hatred to the king, envy and jealousies against their aspiring leaders, and a violent desire of having their work done at once, lay all persons and things level on the sudden, bring forth their monstrous conceptions at one birth, made them break out, fly in their faces, discover many of their villanies, and, as appears by that business of Lilburn and Wildman, even re-

[a] Ludlow, vol. I. p. 228.

as well as to accomplish his schemes of power

solve to take Cromwell out of the way, and murder him for an apostate[a]." Surely this does not look as if Cromwell might have restored the king with an high hand! The truth is, he might have done it in the beginning of the king's residing with the army; but his stiffness, his obstinacy, if I may so speak, in adhering to his own opinions, and the hopes he had of availing himself of the disputes between the parliament and the army, rendered the latter very suspicious of his intentions, and, at length, averse to his interest. Besides, if I might offer a conjecture in this affair, it looks to me exceeding probable, that Cromwell, after a thorough trial, might be afraid to trust to what his majesty promised, in order to remount the throne. For, according to Clarendon, Oliver declared in the house of commons, "that the king was a man of great parts, and great understanding, but that he was so great a dissembler, and so false a man, that he was not to be trusted. And thereupon repeated many particulars, whilst he was in the army; that his majesty wished that such and such things might be done, which, being done to gratify him, he was displeased and complained of it: that, whilst he professed, with all solemnity, that he referred himself wholly to the parliament, and depended only upon their wisdom and counsels, for the settlement and composing the distractions of the kingdom, he had, at the same time, secret treaties with the Scottish commissioners, how he might embroil the nation in a new war, and destroy the parliament[b]." Such was the light in which Charles probably appeared to Cromwell, who pierced through every mask, while his own was generally impenetrable to those who were most conversant with him. There is an anecdote related concerning the insincerity of the king to the lieutenant-general, which, if true, will easily account for every thing done to the former by the latter.——In a letter to his queen, without whose knowledge and consent he sel-

[a] Holles's Memoirs, p. 184. [b] Clarendon, vol. V. p. 91.

and ambition, he promoted the votes of no

dom cared to do any thing, he is said to have acquainted her, "That, though he assented to the army's proposals, yet, if by so doing, he could procure peace, it would be easier then to take off Cromwell, than now he was the head that governed the army." This is said to have come to his knowledge, and determined him never more to trust the king[a]. For the truth of this I will not vouch, though it is agreeable to the whole of his majesty's character.——After this, can we wonder that Cromwell might think himself at liberty to practise Charles's arts on himself? or rather, are we not to admire at those who reflect on Cromwell for endeavouring to induce the king to remove by stealth from Hampton-court (where his life he was informed was in danger) and go into the Isle of Wight, as into a safe prison (if that in fact was his intention) where he might be ready at hand to be disposed of as best suited the inclinations or conveniency of the ruling party of the army?——What man almost would not have done the same? However as to the letter written by Cromwell to colonel Whalley, on which so much stress is laid by lord Holles[b], and the writers of the Biographia Britannica, if we may believe Charles himself, it was not the occasion of his flight from Hampton-court. In a letter written by him from thence, dated November 11, 1647, and left for colonel Whalley, he writes as follows: "I have been so civilly used by you and major Huntington, that I cannot but by this parting farewell acknowledge it under my hand, as also to desire the continuance of your courtesie, by your protecting of my household stuff and moveables of all sorts, which I leave behind me in this house, that they be neither spoiled nor imbezeled.——So being confident you wish my preservation and restitution, I rest your friend, Charles. I assure you it was not the letter you shewed me yesterday that made me take this resolution,

[a] Life of Oliver Cromwell p. 69. 8vo. Lond. 1724

[b] Holles's Memoirs, p. 187.

more addresses to his majesty; defeated the

nor any advertisement of that kind: but, I confess, I am loath to be made a close prisoner, under pretence of securing my life[a]." So that lord Clarendon has only committed one of his usual mistakes, when he says, "That his majesty did really believe their malice [the levellers] was at the height, and that they did design his murder[b]."——That Cromwell wrote to Whalley is certain, and Whalley declares, "That the letter, intimating some murtherous design, or, at least, some fear of it, against his majesty, was the ground of his shewing it to him. When I received this letter," adds he, "I was much astonished, abhorring that such a thing should be done, or so much as thought of, by any that bear the name of Christians. When I had shewn the letter to his majesty, I told him, I was sent to safeguard, and not to murther him. I wisht him to be confident no such thing should be done. I would first die at his foot in his defence; and I therefore shewed it him, that he might be assured, though menacing speeches came frequently to his eare, our general officers abhorred so bloody and villanous a fact[c]."——Milton's vindication of Cromwell, against the charge of persuading the king to withdraw into the Isle of Wight, must not be here omitted.——"Alterum est crimen persuasisse regi Cromuellum, ut in insulam Vectim clanculum se subduceret. Constat regem Carolum rem suam multis aliàs rebus; ter fuga perdidisse; primùm cum Londino Eboracum fugit, deinde cum ad Scotos in Anglia conductitios, postremò cum ad insulam Vectim. At hujus postremæ suasor erat Cromuellus. Optime; sed tamen ego regios illos primùm miror, qui Carolum toties affirmare non dubitant fuisse prudentissimum, & eundem simul vix unquam suæ spontis; sive apud amicos sive inimicos, in aula vel in castris, in aliena ferè potestate semper fuisse; nunc uxoris, nunc episcoporum, nunc purpuratorum, nunc militum, denique hostium: pejora plerumque consilia, & pejo-

[a] King Charles's Works, p. 156. [b] Clarendon, vol. V. p. 76.
[c] Peck's Desiderata curiosa, lib. ix p. 42.

Welch and the Scotch, who took up arms in

rum fermè sequutum; Carolo persuadetur, Carolo imponitur, Carolo illuditur metus incutitur, spes vana ostenditur, velut præda omnium communis, tam amicorum quam hostium, agitur & fertur Carolus. Aut hæc è scriptis suis tollant, aut sagacitatem Caroli prædicare desistant. Fateor deinde, quamvis prudentia atque consilio præstare pulcrum sit tamen ubi respublica factionibus laborat, suis incommodis haud carere; & consultissimum quemque eo magis obnoxium calumniis utriusque partis reddere: hoc sæpe Cromuello obfuit: hinc Presbyteriani, inde hostes quicquid in se durius fieri putant non id communi senatus consilio, sed Cromuello soli imputant; immo si quid per imprudentiam ipsi malè gerunt, id dolis & fraudibus Cromuelli assignare non erubescunt; culpa omnis in eum derivatur, omnis in eum faba cuditur. Et tamen certissimum est fugam ad Vectim regis Caroli absenti tum aliquot millibus passuum Cromuello, tam novum accidisse & inopinatum, quàm cuilibet ex senatu tum in urbe versanti, quem ut de re inopinatissima sibi recens allata per literas certiorem fecit. Res autem ita se habuit; exercitus universi vocibus rex territus, qui eum nullis officiis suis aut pollicitis factum meliorem, ad supplicium poscere jam tunc cœperat, statuit cum duobus tantummodo consciis nocturnâ fugâ sibi consulere: verùm fugiendi certior, quàm quo fugeret, per comitum suorum vel imperitiam vel timiditatem, inops consilii quo se reciperet, Hamundo Vectis insulæ præsidi se ultro dedidit; ea spe, facilem sibi ex ea insula, parato jam navigio, transitum in Galliam aut in Belgium fore. Hæc ego de fuga regis in Vectim ex iis comperi quibus rem totam pernoscendi quàm proxima facultas erat[a]." i. e. "Another crime is, that Cromwell persuaded the king to withdraw himself privately to the isle of Wight. Now it's plain king Charles ruined his own affair otherwise in many things, and no less than three times by flight: as, first, when he fled from London to York; afterwards, when he ran to

[a] Milton's Prose Works, vol. II. p. 396.

behalf of the king, and purged the house of commons, after it had voted his majesty's con-

the hireling Scots in England; and, last of all, to the Isle of Wight. But Cromwell was the persuader of this last flight! Good indeed! But I first admire those royalists, who never stick to affirm so often, that Charles was one of the most prudent persons living, and still, that the same man was hardly ever at his own disposal: that, whether with his enemies or his friends, in the court or in the camp, he was almost always in the power of another; now of his wife, then of the bishops; now of the peers, then of the soldiery; and last of his enemies: that, for the most part, he followed the worser counsels; and, almost always, of the worser men. Charles is persuaded; Charles is imposed on; Charles is deceived; fear is impressed on him; vain hope is set before him; Charles is carried and hurried about, as if he was the common prey of all, both friends and enemies. But let them either blot these things out of their writings, or else give over trumpeting up the sagacity of Charles. Next, I confess, though it be honourable to excel in prudence and counsel, yet that, where a commonwealth labours under factions, this doth not always want its inconveniencies; but renders any, even the most prudent, so much the more obnoxious to the calumnies of each party. This often was the case of Cromwell. On the one side, the Presbyterians; on the other, the enemy [Royalists] whatever hardships they are loaded with, impute it all, not to the common advice of parliament, but of Cromwell only. Nay, if themselves imprudently act any thing amiss, do not blush to lay it wholly to the deceits and frauds of Cromwell! All the fault is thrown upon him; all the black is stuck upon his coat. And yet it is most certain, that the flight of King Charles to the Isle of Wight fell out as new and unexpectedly to Cromwell (who was then some miles off) as it was surprising to any of the parliament, at that time residing in London, whom he made acquainted with it by letter, as of a most unlooked-for accident, the news whereof was just then

cessions a sufficient ground [29] to proceed upon for the settlement of the peace of the kingdom.

brought him. Now the matter happened thus: the king (affrighted by the menaces of the whole army, who finding him nothing amended, either by their good offices or promises for him, had now begun to require he should be brought to punishment) determined, with only two attendants, to provide for his own safety by a nocturnal flight; but surer of flying, than whither he should fly, either by the unskilfulness or timidity of his companions; and, not knowing where to betake himself, he, at last, voluntarily threw himself into the hands of Hammond, governor of the Isle of Wight; with this hope, that he might find an easy passage out of that island, a small vessel being provided privately for the purpose, either into France or Holland. And these matters, touching the king's flight into the Isle of Wight, I learnt of them, who had as great advantage as may be for knowing the truth."——This seems very strong in Cromwell's behalf.——But, had he wrote the letter to Whalley, with the design suggested, of which there is no proof, where would have been the harm of it, as I before said, or who would not have thought himself at liberty to have acted a like part with a man of such a character and such views? The statesman, perhaps, would not easily be found; or, if such an one there were, his understanding would not be greatly admired by men of the same profession.

[29] He defeated the Welch and Scots, and purged the house of commons, &c.] Charles having thrown himself into the hands of Hammond, governor of the Isle of Wight, was treated by him with great civility and respect. And the parliament, who had been much alarmed at his majesty's escape, being informed of the place of his abode, determined to send commissioners to the Isle of Wight, in order to treat with him concerning peace, so necessary to himself and the kingdom. But, on the king's refusal to agree to the preliminary propositions, they immediately determined

This was usually called Pride's purge, from the

to make no more addresses to him, but to proceed to the settlement of the nation without him. Their reasons they submitted to the public, in a declaration which was printed and dispersed in every corner. This declaration, and the votes on which it was founded, very justly alarmed the fears of Charles and his friends. They wrote, they petitioned, they were tumultuous at the door of the house of commons, and, at length, had recourse to arms in his favour. But none of these things, for the present, succeeded. The insurrection under the lords Goring and Capel, on the surrender of Colchester to Fairfax, came to nothing; that in Wales, under colonel Poyer, Cromwell, with no very great difficulty, subdued; and, immediately, with very speedy marches, he came up with duke Hamilton, who himself was taken prisoner, and the whole body of Scots and English, under his command, routed. This, properly, put a period to the second civil war, in which the rashness and imprudence of the one side was as remarkable, as the valour and good conduct of the other. "All this great victory," says Clarendon, "was got by Cromwell, with an army amounting to a third part of the Scots in number, if they had been all together; and it was not diminished half an hundred in obtaining this victory, after the English forces, under Langdale had been defeated [a]." This was the battle of Preston, fought August 17, 1648. The Scots army were "twelve thousand foot, well armed, and five thousand horse. Langdale had two thousand five hundred foot, and one thousand five hundred horse; in all twenty-one thousand; and in the parliament's army, in all, about eight thousand six hundred! and, of the enemy, about two thousand were slain, and about nine thousand prisoners taken, besides what were lurking in hedges and private places, which the country people daily brought in or destroyed [b]." For this victory a solemn thanksgiving was

[a] Vol. V. p. 165. [b] Whitlock, p. 362.

officer employed to seize and secure the mem-

ordered throughout the kingdom, on the seventh of September following[a]. After this Cromwell marched forward for Scotland, in order effectually to suppress the Hamiltonian party. In his march his discipline was very exact, and his order so good, that no ground of complaint was given to the inhabitants. At length he arrived at Edinburgh, "where he was received with great ceremony, and demanded, that none, who had been in action in the late wicked engagement and invasion, might, henceforward, be employed in any public place of trust; to which the committee of estates there gave a satisfactory answer. He had also visits and conferences with commissioners from the kirk, and from the provost and magistrates of Edinburgh, and a strong guard of soldiers at his lodging. At the time of his being at Edinburgh several other demands were made by him to the committee of estates, who gave him very fair answer, and he reserved liberty for the parliament of England to make such farther demands as they should think requisite. The charges of Cromwell's entertainment, and of all his company, during the time of their being at Edinburgh, were defrayed by the lord provost of the city, by order of the committee of estates; and Cromwell, Haselrigge, and the rest of their company, were entertained by general Leven, the lord Argyle, and many other lords, at a sumptuous banquet in the castle. At their going away, the castle saluted them with many great guns, and vollies of small shot, and divers lords convoyed them out of the city[b]."——Whilst Oliver was in Scotland, the parliament, fearing the army, who had so frequently been troublesome to them, and likewise the adherents of the king, who had risen so lately in his favour, and willing, if possible, to procure peace to the kingdom, revoked the votes of no more addresses, opened a treaty with his majesty in the Isle of Wight, and were about to have brought matters to

[a] Journal of the House of Commons, Aug. 23, 1648. [b] Whitlock, p. 345.

bers. High complaints were made of this ac-

a conclusion. But the soldiery, dreading the consequences of a peace with respect to themselves, seized the king at Newport, conducted him under guard to Hurst-Castle, presented a remonstrance to the house of commons against any further treaty, and insisted on bringing him and his adherents to justice. The house was now alarmed ——they voted that the seizure of the king was without their knowledge or consent, and that his concessions to the propositions upon the treaty were a sufficient ground to proceed upon for the settlement of the kingdom. Whereupon the army marched up to London, seized and imprisoned a good number of the members, and hindered very many more from going into the house; whereby it came to pass, that every thing was carried according to their own determinations. This exclusion and force on the house was on the sixth of December, one thousand six hundred and forty-eight.——On the next day, at the request of an eminent man in the army, the following petition was printed. I give it as a curiosity to the reader, who may consider it as valuable, on account of the matter and the manner; however, as it has escaped the notice of other writers, it will have the merit of novelty here.

"To the right honourable Thomas Lord Fairfax, our faithful general,

"The humble petition of all the officers and soldiers of the regiment commanded by colonel Thomas Pride,

"Humbly sheweth,

"Whereas it hath pleased the Lord of Hosts (who was called upon to decide the controversy of this nation) to write his name upon your sword in very legible characters, as appears upon record twice, viz. in the year—45, where we had 114 victories, and now this last summer above 30, even to our astonishment, who were used by you in that service, that those proud billows in Wales, England and Scotland, have been bounded and calmed, in less than six

tion, as insolent, unjust, tyrannical, and sub-

months; and when through many tiresome marches and conflictings with many deaths (to say no more, lest we be counted boasters) we thought when the north and the south wind had thus blown upon the garden, that the spices would have flown out: behold we have our sorrows repeated, and our fears increased, making our wounds even to bleed afresh. For, 1. We find many good and just petitions from city, country and army, not only unanswered, laid by, and slighted, but also things contrary to their honest desires practized; which appears first, by treating with a conquered enemy, contrary to the vote of non-addresses, against which this army is engaged by life and death; yea, and to make the treaty the fruits of our victories over the Scots, resolving to beg mercy of him, the very hour that army of his was begging mercy of us. Secondly, not only treating, but falling from their resolved propositions, especially in that of delinquents, from 37 not to be spared to 7, and those neither considerable, nor attainable, mocking the people in their covenant, which is to bring these to condign punishment, and as if that were not enough, to abate so much in compositions of the rest, (as if such a compliance was intended) as we should change conditions with the enemy, and fight and conquer ourselves into slavery. Thirdly, to add more load to the grieved petitioners, their best friends, and gratify the worst of enemies, 14 days more is granted, tendring a complyance upon any terms; yea, though by agreement, he hath taken upon him the blood of the three kingdoms: and to leave us hopeless of any good by him, he abets his son in that pyracy, and Ormond in that renewed conspiracy against that little protestant blood unexhausted in Ireland. Nor can we but be thoughtful why some notice might not have been given to your excellency and army, concerning a treaty, since our trustees have so often acknowledged God to have sent them preservation by this hand, but we only point at that. We take leave to tell your excellency what you hear of daily to your intollerable grief, the army must be made again the

versive of the freedom of the parliament.

burthensome stone to the people (which is no new design) by their non-payment, and even then (if ever) it had sweat blood for their safety, by whom thus unworthily neglected we must profess not an ingenious soldier of the meanest rank, but doth blush to receive his unpayed for entertainment; and the rather, 1. Because unexpectedly returns to it. 2. Because the country pays their taxes. 3. Because bad men are enriched by it. 4. Because shame and contempt will be the soldiers portion. 5. Because it still sows seed of new broils where people are thus abused. Sir, we have much to complain of, but of nothing more than that the main ends of these wars, crowned with mercy even to miracle, are not reaped, the fox stealing that from us by subtilty, which the lyon could not tear by cruelty. Wherefore in our own names, and the names of the betrayed, abused people of England, we humbly beseech your excellencies assistance of us, and concurrence with us, in these ensuing requests and groans of our souls, which may not long be denied us, lest we faint or struggle as we can, for the life of good men and a good cause.

"I. That justice may suddenly and equally be dispensed according to the desires of our honoured friends in London, Leicestershire, and others, manifested by their several petitions, and the parliament's declaration concerning the king's evils asserted; or bewailed and repented.

"II. That your army be instantly reckoned withall, and paid, and so dealt with for the future (if they must be used) that every regiment may know their own county, and there receive their pay immediately, without any other treasurers or ways of trouble, that so the people themselves may see what they have for their money. In this we are impatient, or so passionately affected, that we gaspe for help. This regiment hath had but one month's pay since May, having marched 1300 miles this summer.

"III. That the people may know in print, with all speed, which way all public monies are disposed of in all counties

Others, on the contrary, have attempted to

and places, and that of all kinds; which may be done, if every collector and receiver of money be forthwith enjoined to print their receipts and disbursements, for if the soldiers be not paid, the people ask what's become of the revenue, compositions, sequestrations, excise, lands, &c.

"IV. That we may have a just and righteous government settled in this nation, advancing godliness, we abhorring anarchy, confusion, and levelling men's estates, so often charged upon us: for which ends we desire these two things, in pursuance of which (by help from heaven) we resolve to venture our all. First, that the grand and capital enemies, may, without delay, be brought to justice, which is the main root of our misery, we finding all other ways attempted altogether invalid to carry on this work of common safety. Secondly, for the dispatch of justice upon all delinquents, for the rectifying all crooked things among us, and for the good of us and the generations to come, we humbly conceive our last and surest way will be for your excellency and the army, to make a speedy offer to the commons house in your name and the armies, and in behalf of all England, that such of them as have been faithful to the kingdoms interest, declare with you and the nation; and that the contrary minded, false, royal, and neutral party may know, that our enemies must not be our rulers, we professing that good men, rather than good laws, must save us, though we disjoin them not. And to this last work we humbly incite your excellency, the army, and all true English hearts; without which we shall not forbear any means the Lord shall direct us to, whereby we may free ourselves, from the guilt of enslaving the kingdom, to one, or more; and if any shall object, we put violence upon authority, we hereby proclaim to the world, that neither your excellency nor ourselves have received commissions from the parliament as now constituted, the swaying part thereof, (as lately in Scotland) brought over to the king's designs: but from that good party in it, who struggled through many hazards, to

vindicate it, and apologize for Cromwell, the

model this army for the kingdoms safety. Nor are we to attend forms and customs in this extremity; we can as willingly set down as march, suffer as act, would but the godly party in the kingdom call us thereunto, and think themselves preserved by it. But the people call to us for these things, and we to your excellency, your known worth inviting us hereunto: in prosecution of which, as an unparalleled instrument, we shall live or dye with your excellency, having solemnly promised, in answer to the wonders God hath wrought amongst us, to attempt and attend these two last expedients through all hazards. We cannot so undervalue our God, and the rich experience we have had in behalf of this nation, as to see them lie (like Issachar) under these sinful burdens, our colds, heats, nakedness, want, hunger, hardships, difficulties, dangers, cares, fears, out of which our blessed and ever to be praised God, hath brought us, suggesting these things unto us, for that flock of slaughter in this kingdom. Sir, we can dye, but not endure to see our mother England dye before us[a]."——From this address is easily to be collected the spirit of the army, the principles on which it acted, the authority it assumed, and the hazard of contesting with it. It appears to have looked on itself as an independent body, capable of advising, directing and giving the law to the senate and people of England. This was the effect of the *self-denying ordinance, which* was foreseen by *many, and now felt by all. What was al*leged in defence of these proceedings of the army, *will* be found in the following note. I cannot but observe here to the reader, the spirit of the English royalists at this time. The Scots had raised an army in aid of the king, the parliament was garbelled for treating of a peace with him——was not this meritorious in the eye of a cavalier? Far from it—at this very time, both Scots and parliament were treated with the utmost virulence and contempt by those very per

[a] Moderate Intelligencer, Dec. 7, 1648.

author and abettor of it. Their reasons will

sons, for whose master they had subjected themselves to the greatest inconveniencies. Speaking of the army under Hamilton, and its defeat, a writer of this time has the following expressions. "It was never yet known that the blew bonnet would enter lists upon the gilded promises of a public faith, or the huxters cold hopes of best be trust. And when all this is done; be confident, their hands will be more ready to receive it, than their hearts to earn it. It has ever been observed of the peasantry of that nation, that they could feed better than fight. Plundering was their only master piece: which they could finger with such dexterity, as if they had been nursed and bred up in that trade from their infancy."——And again—"What else could be expected by Calidon, being by chronologists rendered to be the emblem of disloyalty; a stranger to equity; an harbour for injury; the magazine of iniquity; the counterfeit of amity[a]."——With respect to the members of parliament excluded by the army, they were treated in the like scurrilous manner by the same party in the following verses.

"Farewell ye race of Judas that betray'd
The king your royal master; and have lay'd
Such burthens on our shoulders, God on high
Grant you a dire and bloody tragedie.
You were the champions of a wicked cause;
You have unthron'd your sovereigne; and the laws
By you are quite subverted: you have rent
In pieces a most blessed government.
Now let their just and woful cries and tears,
Whom you made widowes pierce th' Almighties ears;
And let those orphans, who by your expresse
Have lost their fathers, and are fatherlesse;
Roare loud for deadly vengeance, and God grant
As they, your wives and children may know want.
We'll to your graves your herses laughing bring,
Instead of dirges we will carolls sing:
In joyful strains we'll pen your elegies,
And chronicle your stinking memories.

[a] The Loyal Sacrifice presented in the Lives and Deaths of Sir Charles Lucas and Sir George Lisle, p. 27, 38. 12mo. 1648.

Saying here lies, (and no man doth lament)
The rotten members of a parliament [a]."

Lord Clarendon's treatment of these gentlemen, as well as the Scottish nation, is not much more decent [b].——Milton therefore seems to have had reason for cautioning them "To beware an old and perfect enemy, who though he hope by sowing discord to make them his instruments, yet cannot forbear a minute the open threatning of his desperate revenge upon them, when they have served his purposes [c]." A caution however reasonable, yet neglected by those concerned, till their old and perfect enemy had opportunity of satiating the desperate revenge he had threatened. But to proceed, in all this affair of the exclusion of the members, Cromwell's name appears not. Nay Mr. Ludlow tells us, "that lieutenant-general Cromwell the night after the interruption of the house arrived from Scotland and lay at Whitehall, where, and at other places, he declared he had not been acquainted with this design; yet since it was done, he was glad of it, and would endeavour to maintain it [d]." Others say, "it was done by Cromwell's command [e]." However this be, we need not doubt but Ireton, and the other chief officers concerned, were fully satisfied they had Cromwell's approbation. They would not have taken such a step without it. For though Fairfax was easy and manageable, Cromwell was very different, nor would he have failed shewing his resentment against those who should have presumed to have acted opposite to his will. His declarations on this head are not, I think, much to be regarded. Politicians have a language of their own. They abound with quirks, subtleties and distinctions; they explain away and interpret as they imagine will best suit their circumstances and conveniences. To all this, if we add Cromwell's known dissimulation, we shall see little cause to rely much on them. I will close this note with observing, that the house of commons having notice of the seizing of their

[a] Mercurius Pragmaticus, Dec. 19, 1648. [b] See vol. V. p. 114. and 240.
[c] Milton's Tenure of Kings and Magistrates, in his Works, vol. I. p. 357.
[d] Ludlow, vol. I. p. 272. [e] See Flagellum, p 66.

be found below [30]. What followed is well

members, with great seeming earnestness applied to the general for their release, and declared it to be their positive pleasure that they be forthwith discharged; but no answer satisfactory being returned, they were forced to submit, perhaps not unwillingly, to the loss of them. This was on the seventh of December, when it was "Resolved to give hearty thanks to Cromwell for very great and eminently faithful services performed by him to this parliament and kingdom, both in this kingdom and the kingdom of Scotland, and Mr. Speaker did accordingly give him the very hearty thanks of this house[a]."

[30] The reasons for purging the house of commons, and the apology for Cromwell on that head, are here to be given.] On the 11th of December the secluded and secured members published a printed paper, intituled, "A solemne protestation of the imprisoned and secluded members of the commons house: against the horrid force and violence of the officers and soldiers of the army, on Wednesday and Thursday last, the 6th and 7th of December, 1648." In this protestation "They solemnly protest and declare to the whole kingdom, that this execrable force and open violence upon their persons, and the whole house of commons, by the officers and army under their command, in marching up against their command and placing strong armed guards of horse and foot upon them, without, and against their order, was the highest and most detestable force and breach of priviledge and freedom ever offered to any parliament of England; and that all acts, ordinances, votes and proceedings of the said house made since the 6th of December aforesaid, or hereafter to be made during their restraint and forcible seclusion from the house, and the continuance of the armies force upon it, were no way obligatory, but void and null to all intents and purposes. And that all contrivers of, actors in, and assistants to this unparalleled force and

[a] Journal.

known—Suffice it therefore to say that the

treasonable armed violence, were open enemies to, and professed subverters of the priviledges, rights and freedom of parliament, and disturbers of the peace and settlement of the kingdom; and ought to be proceeded against as such: and that all members of parliament and commoners of England, by their solemn covenant and duty, under pain of deepest perjury and eternal infamy, were obliged unanimously to oppose and endeavour to their utmost power to bring them to exemplary and condigne punishment for this transcendent offence, tending to the dissolution of the present, and subversion of all future parliaments, and of the fundamental government and laws of the land [a]." This bold protestation being complained of in the house of commons, and the house of lords, produced a joint declaration from them, in which "They judged and declared, the said printed paper to be false, scandalous and seditious, and tending to destroy the visible fundamental government of the kingdom: and therefore ordered and ordained the said printed paper to be suppressed; and all persons whatsoever that had any hand in, or given consent unto the contriving, framing, printing or publishing thereof, were adjudged uncapable to bear any office, or have any place of trust or authority in the kingdom, or to sit as members of either house of parliament. And they farther ordered, that every member of either house that were then absent, upon his first coming to sit in that house whereof he was a member, for the manifestation of his innocency, should disavow and disclaim, his having any hand in, or giving consent unto the contriving, framing, printing or publishing of the said paper, or the matter therein contained [b]."——Here are no reasons we see given to justify the exclusion.——We must seek them elsewhere then, that is, in the writings of the advocates for the army, and the admirers of the change which soon after happened. Besides those which may be collected from the

[a] Walker's History of Independency, part II. p. 35. [b] Id. p. 36.

votes of no more addresses were re-assumed;

petition in the foregoing note, the following have been offered to the public.

1. Mr. Ludlow writes that "Some of our commissioners who had been with the king [at Newport] pleaded in the house for a concurrence with him, as if they had been employed by him; though others with more ingenuity acknowledged that they would not advise an agreement upon those terms, were it not to prevent a greater evil that was like to ensue upon the refusal of them. But Sir Henry Vane so truly stated the matter of fact relating to the treaty, and so evidently discovered the design and deceit of the king's answer, that he made it clear to us, that by it the justice of our cause was not asserted, nor our rights secured for the future; concluding that if they should accept of these terms without the concurrence of the army, it would prove but a feather in their caps: notwithstanding which, the corrupt party in the house having bargained for their own and the nation's liberty, resolved to break through all hazards and inconveniencies to make good their contract, and after twenty four-hours debate, resolved by the plurality of votes, that the king's concessions were ground for a future settlement. At which some of us expressing our dissatisfaction, desired that our protestation might be entered; but that being denied, as against the orders of the house, I contented myself to declare publicly, that being convinced that they had deserted the common cause and interest of the nation, I could no longer join with them; the rest of those who dissented also, expressing themselves much to the same purpose. The day following, some of the principal officers of the army came to London, with expectation that things would be brought to this issue; and consulting with some members of parliament and others, it was concluded, after a full and free debate, that the measures taken by the parliament were contrary to the trust reposed in them, and tending to contract the guilt of the blood that had been shed upon themselves and the nation: that it was

the transactions of the parliament with the king

therefore the duty of the army to endeavour to put a stop to such proceedings; having engaged in the war, not simply as mercenaries, but out of judgment and conscience, being convinced that the cause in which they were engaged was just, and that the good of the people was involved in it[a]."

2. In answer to the illegality of the act, and the incompetency of the actors, who assumed a jurisdiction to which they had no right, even from those for whose good and benefit they pretended to have done this: in answer to these and the like objections it was said, "That it was lawful for any man, even by violence, to wrest a sword out of the hand of a mad-man, though it be never so legally his from whom it is wrested;—That there is no client that hath entertained a lawyer, or advocate to plead his cause, but upon discovery, yea or jealousy, of prevarication, or false-heartedness to him in his cause, may lawfully discharge him, his entertainment notwithstanding;—That it was ridiculous to pretend a want of call from the people, against the lawfulness of such an act, which was of that sovereigne necessity for their benefit and good, as the actions of the army were; especially at such a time when there was no possibility of obtaining or receiving a formal call from the people, without running an eminent hazard of losing the opportunity for doing that excellent service to them.—— Mens consents unto all acts manifestly tending to their relief, are sufficiently expressed in their wants and necessities. But the people do not judge the proceedings of the army against the parliament-men as tending to their relief or welfare in any kind, but as contrary to both, nor do they give so much as their subsequent consents thereunto;—I answer that physicians called to the care and cure of persons under distempers, need not much stand upon the consents of such patients, either subsequent, or antecedent,

[a] Ludlow, vol. I. p. 369.

in the isle of Wight condemned; the general

about what they administer unto them. If the people be uncapable in themselves, of the things of their peace, it is an act of so much the more goodness and mercy in those, who being fully capable of them, will engage themselves accordingly to make provision for them. It is a deed of charity and Christianity, to save the life of a lunatick or distracted person, even against his will. Besides it is a ruled case amongst wise men, that if a people be depraved and corrupt, so as to confer places of power and trust upon wicked and undeserving men, they forfeit their power in this behalf unto those that are good, though but a few[a]."— Aquinas is referred to in the margin for this curious doctrine, which perhaps will not be well relished by most of my readers. But to go on.—" That the judgment or sentence of the army upon these men, as meet to be dispossessed of their parliamentary interest, was not erroneous, but every way just, and according to the truth, stands clear upon this ground: *viz.* That they were become renegadoes from their trust, and acted by their counsels, debates, votes, and interest, in a diametrical opposition to the peace and safety of the kingdom, and to publick good.

" Yea the tenour of their parliamentary actings before their removal from the house, in the known dialect of political prophecy, presaged nothing but ruin and destruction to the liberties of the free-born subjects of the kingdom in general, and to the lives and estates of many thousands in the kingdom, whom they stood bound in conscience in a special manner to protect. For what could that grand encouragement, which they administred by their votes to a potent party of men in the kingdom, who had so lately, and with so high an hand, acted hostility against the peace and liberties of the people, and against the lives of those who stood up to protect them, not having given the least overture of any relenting in their old principles, but were now

[a] John Goodwin's Right and Might well met, p. 12—15. 4to. Lond. 1648.

was ordered to keep the king in safe custody,

through that extremity of pain which they lye under, having been so often, and so deeply bitten, and stung by the fidelity and valour of the army, more enraged in their spirits, than ever; what could, I say, such encouragement, given by such hands unto such men, but portend, either a re-imbroyling of this already miserably wasted nation, in wars and blood, or else the necessity of a patient and quiet subjection of the nation to the iron yoke of perpetual tyranny and bondage, together with the certain ruin of the lives and estates of those, who had shewed most faithfulness and courage in the defence of the parliament and the kingdom's liberties, in opposing the king and his party, if the army had not preventingly interposed as they did? The by-past actions of men, especially such, which they have for any considerable space of time inured themselves unto, are prophetical of what their future actions are like to be, if opportunity paralleleth. The civil law saith, that he that hath injured one, hath threatned many: and by the rule of proportion, he that hath injured many hath threatned all[a]."

3. Milton observes on this subject, that "Emulations are incident among military men, and are, if they exceed not, pardonable. But," adds he, "some of the former army, eminent enough for their own martial deeds, and prevalent in the house of commons, touched with envy to be so far out-done by a new model which they contemned, took advantage of Presbyterian and independent names, and the virulence of some ministers, to raise disturbance. And the war being then ended, thought slightly to have discarded them, who had faithfully done the work, without their due pay, and the reward of their invincible valour. But they who had the sword yet in their hands, disdaining to be made the first objects of ingratitude and oppression, after all that expence of their blood for justice and common liberty, seizing upon the king their prisoner, whom nothing

[a] John Goodwin's Right and Might well met, p. 18. 4to. Lond. 1648.

and take care that he go not away; and finally,

but their matchless deeds had brought so low as to surrender up his person: though he, to stir up new discord, chose rather to give up himself a captive to his own countrymen who had less won him[a]."

This is taken from the Iconoclastes. In his "*Pro Populo Anglicano Defensio*," after speaking in dispraise of the treaty in the isle of Wight, and of the members of the parliament who approved it, in terms of great severity, he proceeds in the manner following: "Quid illi interea qui integri tam pestifera agitari consilia videbant? An ideo deesse patriæ, saluti suorum non prospicere debuerant, eo quod istius mali, contagio in ipsorum ordinem penetraverat? At quis istos exclusit malè sanos? 'Exercitus, inquis, Anglicanus,' id est, non externorum, sed fortissimorum & fidissimorum civium; quorum tribuni plerique, senatores ipsi erant, quos illi boni exclusi patria ipsa excludendos, & in Hiberniam procul ablegandos esse censuerant; dum Scoti interim dubiâ jam fide quatuor Angliæ provincias suis finibus proximas magnis copiis insidebant, firmissima earum regionum oppida præsidiis tenebant, regem ipsum in custodia habebant: dum ipsi etiam factiones suorum atque tumultus, parlamento plusquam minaces, & in urbe & in agris passim fovebant, qui tumultus paulò pòst in bellum non civile solùm, sed & Scoticum illud erupere. Quòd si privatis etiam consiliis aut armis subvenire reipublicæ laudatissimum semper fuit, non est certè cur exercitus reprehendi possit, qui parliamenti authoritate ad urbem accersitus imperata fecit, & regiorum factionem atque tumultum ipsi curiæ sæpiùs minitantem facilè compescuit. In id autem discrimen adducta res erat, ut aut nos ab illis, aut illos à nobis opprimi necesse esset. Stabant ab illis Londinensium plerique institores atque opifices, & ministrorum factiosissimi quique; à nobis exercitus magnâ fide, modestiâ, virtute cognitus. Per hos cum retinere libertatem rempub. salutem

[a] Milton's Prose Works, vol. I. p. 474.

it was resolved to proceed capitally against him in a high court of justice to be erected

liceret, an hæc omnia per ignaviam & stultitiam prodenda fuisse censes? Debellati regiarum partium duces arma quidam inviti, animum hostilem non deposuerant: omnibus belli renovandi occasionibus intenti ad urbem se receperant. Cum his, quamvis inimicissimis, quamvis sanguinem eorum avide sitientibus, Presbyteriani, postquam non permitti sibi in omnes tam civilem quàm ecclesiasticam dominationem viderunt, clandestina consilia, & prioribus tum dictis tum factis indignissima consociare cœperant: cóque acerbitatis processere, ut mallent se regi denuò mancipare, quàm fratres suos in partem illam libertatis, quam & ipsi suo sub sanguine acquisiverant, admittere; mallent tyrannum tot civium cruore perfusum, irâ in superstites, & *conceptâ jam ultione* ardentem rursus experiri dominum, quàm fratres, & amicissimos æquo jure ferre sibi pares. Soli independentes qui vocantes, & ad ultimum sibi constare, & suâ uti victoriâ sciebant: qui ex rege hostem se fecerat, cum ex hoste regem esse amplius, sapienter, meo quidem judicio, nolebant: neque pacem idcircò non volebant, sed involutum pacis nomine aut bellum novum, aut æternam servitutem prudentes metuebant[a]." i. e. "What did they do in the mean time, who were sound themselves, and saw such pernicious councils on foot? Ought they therefore to have been wanting to the nation, and not provide for its safety, because the infection had spread itself even in their own house? But, who secluded those ill-affected members? The English army, you say: so that it was not an army of foreigners, but of most valiant, and faithful, honest natives, whose officers for the most part were members of parliament; and whom those good secluded members would have secluded their country, and banished into Ireland; while in the meantime the Scots, whose alliance began to be doubtful, had very considerable forces in four of our northern counties,

[a] Milton's Prose Works, vol. I. p. 354.

for the purpose. In pursuance of these resolutions, the king was removed from Hurst Castle and kept garrisons in the best towns of those parts, and had the king himself in custody; whilst they likewise encouraged the tumultuating of those of their own faction, who did more than threaten the parliament, both in city and country, and through whose means not only a civil, but a war with Scotland too shortly after brake out. If it has always been counted praiseworthy in private men to assist the state and promote the public good; whether by advice or action; our army sure was in no fault, who being ordered by the parliament to come to town, obeyed and came, and when they were come, quelled with ease the faction and uproar of the king's party, who sometimes threatned the house itself. For things were brought to that pass, that of necessity, either we must be run down by them, or they by us. They had on their side most of the shop keepers and handicrafts-men of London, and generally those of the ministers, that were most factious. On our side was the army, whose fidelity, moderation, and courage were sufficiently known. It being in our power by their means to retain our liberty, our state, our common safety; do you think we had not been fools to have lost all by our negligence and folly? They who had had places of command in the king's army, after their party were subdued, had laid down their arms indeed against their wills, but continued enemies to us in their hearts; and they flocked to town, and were here watching all opportunities of renewing the war. With these men, tho' they were the greatest enemies they had in the world, and thirsted after their blood, did the Presbyterians, because they were not permitted to exercise a civil, as well as an ecclesiastical jurisdiction over all others, hold secret correspondence, and took measures very unworthy of what they had formerly both said and done; and they came to that spleen at last, that they would rather enthral themselves to the king again, than admit their own brethren to share in their liberty, which they likewise

to Windsor, and in spite of the opposition made by the Scottish commissioners, brought

had purchased at the price of their own blood; they chose rather to be lorded over once more by a tyrant, polluted with the blood of so many of his own subjects, and who was enraged, and breathed out nothing but revenge against those of them that were left, than endure their brethren and friends to be upon the square with them. The independants, as they are called, were the only men that from first to last kept to their point, and knew what use to make of their victory. They refused, (and wisely, in my opinion) to make him king again, being then an enemy; who when he was their king, had made himself their enemy: nor were they ever the less averse to a peace, but they very prudently dreaded a new war, or a perpetual slavery under the name of a peace."

I will add but one passage more, and that taken from "the declaration of the house of commons, setting forth the reasons for annulling all former votes in favour of a treaty with the king," which was passed, and ordered to be printed Jan. 15, 1648. In this declaration, after giving many reasons for their dislike of the treaty, they go on in the following manner: "Neither can we believe, that any agreement we could have made with the king in the isle of Wight, in the condition he was then in, would ever have been observed, either by himself or any of his party: for, setting aside the bare name of honor, safety and freedom, which the treaty did pretend unto, neither the king, nor any of his, *did ever hold him in any other condition* than that of a prisoner. For clearing whereof, besides his message sent to both houses, Oct. 2, in which 'he proposeth to have liberty to come to Westminster, and to be restored to a condition of absolute freedom and safety;' which can import no other than that he judged himself at that present, being in the time of treaty, to be deprived of both; his letters to a prime magistrate of the city of London declare, 'that he held himself at that time as great a prisoner as ever. and

to an open trial at Westminster, where, after his refusal to acknowledge the authority of the

the prince in his declaration made at Goree, says plainly, 'that the king in truth is still a prisoner; and invites the earl of Warwick to join with him to rescue his father from his unworthy imprisonment.' And since enforced oaths are, in many mens judgments, not necessary to be kept, what assurance could we have that he, who so often had failed of his promises made to us, when he was free and at his own disposal, would make that good to us, when he came to be re-established in his royal power, which he had obliged himself to do, when he was in durance and a prisoner? And since hardly any example can be produced, either foreign or domestick, of any prince, once engaged in a war with his subjects, that ever kept any agreement which he made with them any longer than meer necessity did compel him thereto. The examples to the contrary whereof are so many and so manifest, and the late bloody violation of the peace betwixt the crown of Spain and those of Naples is so fresh in our memories, as we cannot expect any propositions, agreed upon at the isle of Wight, should bind the king more than the fundamental laws, and his coronation oath; besides his often protestations and engagements in the name of a king, and of a gentleman, which he hath so often violated[a]."——These were some of the principal reasons given in defence of an action generally condemned as impudent, base, and tyrannical. The reader who understands the history of these times, will be best able to judge of the truth of the pretences on which it is founded.—All I shall say is, if ruin was apprehended by these men to themselves or the kingdom; if their civil or religious rights, in their eyes, appeared as intended to be sacrificed, and the king and the priest, whether prelate or presbyter mattered not, were to reassume their wonted rule; and above all, if the king's character appeared such to them, that no

[a] Parliamentary History, vol. XVIII. p. 509.

court, he received sentence of death, which

reliance was to be put on his promises, declarations or oaths, (all which they seem strongly to affirm) we are not to wonder at the deed. All men know the force of necessity and self-preservation, and know also that they will operate more strongly than law or reason, if indeed they be not almost superior to all law. To plead this in bar of those, will seldom be thought valid by men versed in great affairs, and, though it be made use of by them sometimes for purposes of their own, yet it is little credited and believed by themselves.——That the army really feared a treaty between the king and the parliament, is certain—How far their fears were just in themselves, or will justify their proceedings in this matter, the public must determine. ———Thus much for the fact itself. In defence of Cromwell, who is supposed to have been at the bottom of it, it is urged, "That there was a party in the parliament that bore an early spleen against him, and fain would have nipt him in the bud; but his eminent service at Naseby procuring him to be appointed and continued lieutenant-general under Fairfax; the continual successes that attended him from that time forward, set him above their machinations. Nevertheless, they did not erase out of his breast, the remembrance of the kindnesses they would have done him; nor did their flatteries of his prosperity make him the more neglectful of standing upon his guard. And it was as warrantable for Cromwell to secure himself from the contrivances of his enemies in a shattered parliament, of which he had so long before such timely notice, as it was for them to seek his ruin. For they were not his sovereigns but his equals.——When he found that his prosperous atchievements raised him enemies on every side; that they who were most beholding to his victorious successes, combined with the greatest animosity to his destruction; 'twas time for him then to look about him, and to oppose their undermining devices with countermines of the same nature. Nor does it appear by any proof that carries authority with

accordingly was put in execution. [31] In all thes

it, that he pretended to single greatness till he was forced to it for his own safety. It is agreed by the author of the memoirs himself [Ludlow] that Cromwell offered more candid and easy conditions to the king than the Presbyterian party did; which if the king had accepted (and it does not appear to be Cromwell's fault that he did not) Cromwell himself had then put a stop to all his single advancement; whereas he would surely have taken another course, had he at that time meditated single sovereignty; but the king, who was designed by fate to be a victim to evil counsel, refused those offers, trusting to vainer hopes. On the other side, it was manifest that the Presbyterian party aimed at nothing more than their own advancement by their selling the bishops lands, and when they came to treat with the king, by their so stifly adhering to their proposition for the abolishing of episcopacy, knowing there could be no bishops without maintenance, and that then they must be the paramount clergy. But then (indeed) Cromwell perceiving that it was not safe to rely on the king, nor willing to truckle under a party that were treating for their own advancement upon his ruins, 'tis rational to believe, that from that time forward he began to look upon the king as a conquered prince, and that none could better supply his room than the person who had subdued him [a]." This seems no ill-made apology.

[31] In all these transactions Cromwell had a principal hand.] After the seclusion of the members who promoted the treaty with the king, it was natural to expect that his majesty never more would be permitted to bear rule. But it did not once, I believe, enter into the thoughts of him or his adherents, that he would be brought before a court of justice, tried, and executed in an open and public manner. Yet all this we know happened, to the very great amazement of many. The part Cromwell had in these transactions

[a] Modest Vindication of O. Cromwell, p. 45, 47. 4to. Lond. 1698.

transactions Cromwell had a principal hand.

comes now to be related. "When it was first moved in the house of commons to proceed capitally against the king, Cromwell stood up and told them, that if any man moved this upon design, he should think him the greatest traytor in the world; but since providence and necessity had cast them upon it, he should pray God to bless their counsels, though he were not provided on the sudden to give them counsel[a]."——The following anecdote from Burnet will shew that he had well considered the reasons and grounds of the proceeding. Lieutenant-general Drummond, afterwards lord Strathallan, was the relator. This gentleman "happened to be with Cromwell when the commissioners sent from Scotland to protest against the putting the king to death came to argue the matter with him. Cromwell bade Drummond stay and hear their conference, which he did. They began in a heavy languid style to lay indeed great loads upon the king: but they still insisted on that clause in the covenant, by which they swore they would be faithful in the preservation of his majesties person. With this they shewed upon what terms Scotland, as well as the two houses, had engaged in the war, and what solemn declarations of their zeal and duty to the king they all along published; which would now appear to the scandal and reproach of the christian name, to have been false pretences, if when the king was in their power they should proceed to extremities. Upon this Cromwell entered into a long discourse of the nature of the regal power, according to the principles of Mariana and Buchanan: he thought a breach of trust in a king ought to be punished more than any other crime whatsoever. He said, as to their covenant, they swore to the preservation of the king's person in the defence of the true religion: if then it appeared that the settlement of the true religion was obstructed by the king, so that they could not come at it but by putting him out of the way, then their oath could not bind them to the preserving

[a] Walker's History of Independency, part II. p. 54.

——His name for this has been greatly re-

him any longer. He said also, their covenant did bind them to bring all malignants, incendiaries, and enemies to the cause, to condign punishment: and was not this to be executed impartially? What were all those on whom public justice had been done, especially those who suffered for joining Montrose, but small offenders acting by commission from the king, who was therefore the principal, and so the most guilty? Drummond said, Cromwell had plainly the better of them at their own weapon, and upon their own principles[a]."——On the 21 Jan. 1648, old style, Hugh Peters preaching at Whitehall, upon "Bind your kings with chains, and your nobles in fetters of iron;" and talking in his bold manner, concerning the king's being liable to the law as well as other men, Cromwell was observed to laugh[b]. And when on the motion of Mr. Downes, on the last day of the trial, the court adjourned into the court of wards, and was pressed in the most pathetic terms by him, to give the king liberty to make some proposition to the parliament for the settlement of the kingdom, as his majesty had in court just before desired: after Mr. Downes had urged this, "Cromwell did answer with a great deal of storm. He told the president that now he saw what great reason the gentleman had to put such a great trouble upon them; saith he, sure he doth not know that he hath to do with the hardest hearted man that lives upon the earth; however it is not fit that the court should be hindred from their duty by one peevish man; he said the bottom was known, that I would fain save his old master, and desired the court without any more ado, would go and do their duty[c]." Mr. Wayte, another of the king's judges, says "Cromwell laughed and jeered, and smiled, in the court of wards on this occasion." He afterwards adds, "That being told by lord Grey that the king would not dye, the next day he went to the house, they were labouring to get hands

[a] Burnet, vol. I. p. 61. [b] Exact and perfect Narrative of the Tryal of the Regicides, p. 168. [c] Id. p. 161.

proached, though there were not wanting men

for his execution at the door. I refused, and went into the house; saith Cromwell, those that are gone in shall set their hands, I will have their hands now[a]." Colonel Ingoldsby was a relation of Cromwell's, and named a judge: but disliking the action, he always absented himself. But the day after the sentence was pronounced, having occasion to go to the painted chamber, "he saw Cromwell, and the rest of those who had sate upon the king, and were then, as he found afterwards, assembled to sign the warrant for the king's death. As soon as Cromwell's eyes were upon him, he run to him, and taking him by the hand, drew him by force to the table; and said, Though he had escaped him all the while before, he should now sign that paper as well as they; which he, seeing what it was, refused with great passion; saying, he knew nothing of the business; and offered to go away. But Cromwell, and others, held him by violence; and Cromwell with a loud laughter, taking his hand in his, and putting the pen between his fingers, with his own hand writ Richard Ingoldsby, he making all the resistance he could[b]."——An exact copy of the warrant for the king's execution was published by the society of antiquaries of London, a few years since: in which it appears that the names of some persons who had signed it were erased, and other names inserted, and that the day, as well as the officers who were to see to the execution of it, were changed. Cromwell's name stands third on the warrant.—But to go on:

Colonel Huncks declares, "That a little before the king's execution, he was in Ireton's chamber, where Ireton and Harrison were in bed together; there was Cromwell, colonel Hacker, lieutenant-colonel Phayer, Axtell and himself standing at the door, the warrant for the execution was there produced, and Mr. Hacker was reading of it, but Cromwell addressed himself to him [Huncks] commanding him by

[a] Exact and perfect Narrative, &c. p. 269. [b] Clarendon, vol. VI. p. 763.

of ability, at that time, to defend his con-

virtue of that warrant, to draw up an order for the executioner. I refused it, adds he, and upon refusing of it, there happened some cross passages. Cromwell would have no delay. There was a little table that stood by the door, and pen, ink, and paper being there, Cromwell stept, and writ (I conceive he wrote that which he would have had me to write) as soon as he had done writing, he gives the pen over to Hacker, Hacker he stoops and did write (I cannot say what he writ) away goes Cromwell, and then Axtell; we all went out, afterwards they went into another room; immediately the king came out, and was murthered[a]." The following relation (if it had not been contrary to Huncks's account) is of too doubtful an authority to be absolutely relied on, though in a work of this nature it cannot well be omitted. "While these things were acting, [the fitting the scaffold for the king's execution] the lord Fairfax, who had always forborn any public appearance in the practices of this murther, had taken up (as is credibly reported) some resolutions, (either in abhorrency of the crime, or by the sollicitations of others) with his own regiment, though none else should follow him, to hinder the execution. This being suspected or known, Cromwell, Ireton and Harrison coming to him, after their usual way of deceiving, endeavoured to perswade him, that the Lord had rejected the king, and with such like language as they knew had formerly prevailed upon him, concealing that they had that very morning signed the warrant for the assassination; they also desired him with them, to seek the Lord by prayer, that they might know his mind in the thing. Which he assenting to, Harrison was appointed for the duty, and by compact to draw out his prophane and blasphemous discourse to God in such a length as might give time for the execution, which they privately sent their instrument to hasten; of which when they had notice that it was passed, they rose up, and

[a] Huncks, p. 221.

duct[32].—The king being thus executed, that

perswaded the general that this was a full return of prayer, and God having so manifested his pleasure they were to acquiesce in it[a]." The writer of this was but little acquainted with Harrison's character, when he describes him as drawing out his prayer by compact, in order to gain time for the execution. Harrison was bold, artless, honest and highly enthusiastical, and therefore the unfittest man in the world to act a part. Whether the other parts of the story are more probable, the considerate reader will determine. These passages are, I think, sufficient to shew the part Cromwell had in this affair, though, after all, Burnet asserts, "That Ireton was the person that drove it on: for Cromwell was all the while in some suspence about it[b]."

[32] His name has been reproached, &c.] No fact recorded in history has been more censured than the execution of Charles. Dr. Fell calls it a "horrid mockery of justice, the rape and violence of all that's sacred, made more abominable by pretending to right and piety; in order to prevent which, he says Dr. Hammond drew up an address to the general and council of officers, and transmitted it to them[c]." ——And the ministers of London, alarmed at the proceedings against the king, published a vindication of themselves against the unjust aspersions cast upon their former actings for the parliament, as if they had promoted the bringing of the king to capital punishment. In this vindication they say, "They hold themselves bound in duty to God, religion, the king, parliament and kingdom, to profess before God, angels and men, that we verily believe that which is so much feared to be now in agitation, the taking away the life of the king, in the present way of tryal, is not only not agreeable to any word of God, the principles of the protestant religion (never yet stained with the least drop of blood of a king) or the fundamental constitution and go-

[a] Perinchief's Life of Charles I. p. 57. [b] History of his own Times, vol. I. p. 69. [c] Life of Hammond, p. 55. 12mo. 1661.

part of the house of commons which remained

vernment of this kingdom; but contrary to them, as also to the oath of allegiance, the protestation of May 5, 1641, and the solemn league and covenant: from all, or any of which engagements, we know not any power on earth able to absolve us or others.——Therefore, say they, according to our covenant, we do, in the name of the great God (to whom all must give a strict account) warn and exhort all who either more immediately belong to our respective charges, or any way depend on our ministry, or to whom we have administred the said covenant (that we may not by our silence suffer them to run upon that highly provoking sin of perjury) to keep close to the ways of God, and the rules of religion, the laws, and their vows, in their constant maintaining the true reformed religion, the fundamental constitution and government of this kingdom (not suffering themselves to be seduced from it, by being drawn in to subscribe the late models or agreement of the people, which directly tends to the utter subversion of the whole frame of the fundamental government of the land, and makes way for an universal toleration of all heresies and blasphemies, directly contrary to our covenant, if they can but get their abettors to cover them under a false guise of the christian religion) as also in preserving the privileges of both houses of parliament, and the union between the two nations of England and Scotland; to mourn bitterly for their own sins, and the sins of the city, army, parliament, and kingdom, and the woful miscarriages of the king himself, (which we cannot but acknowledge to have been very great) in his government, that have cost the three kingdoms so dear, and cast him down from his excellency into an horrid pit of misery, almost beyond example: and to pray that God would both give him effectual repentance, and sanctify the bitter cup of divine displeasure, that the divine providence hath put into his hand; as also that God would restrain the violence of men, that they may not dare to draw upon themselves and the kingdom, the blood of their

by the permission, and with the support of

sovereign." This bold piece, in such a critical conjuncture, raised the indignation and resentment of the house of commons, (for the house of lords had unanimously refused to meddle with the business, and for that reason it had been voted, "That the commons of England in parliament assembled, have the supream power in the nation") who constituted a committee, among whom were Cromwell and Ireton, "To examine the authors, publishers, printers, and subscribers to the said book; and by what means the subscriptions to the said book were obtained, and by whom: and the committee were likewise to have power to take information of such as have already preached, published, or printed, seditiously, the proceedings in bringing the king to justice: and also to bring in an ordinance to restrain public preaching and printing any thing against the proceedings of the house, and the high court of justice, in relation to bring - - - the king to justice[a]." But nothing could hinder men from declaring their dislike to the deed. They reproached, they reviled, they threatened, and did every thing to make Cromwell and his fellows odious and abominable in the eyes of the whole world. Take a specimen from a sermon entitled "The Martyrdome of king Charles, or his conformity with Christ in his sufferings, preached at Bredagh, before his majesty of Great Britain, and the princess of Orange, June 8-13, 1649[b]." By Henry, lord bishop of Down and Connoc, in the kingdom of Ireland.—"As the murtherers of our sovereign," says he, "resemble the crucifiers of our Saviour; so we find them all acting the same parts. And first Judas, who sold his master, of all that conspired against Christ, is most odious; for he was his disciple, a domestick servant, one whom he trusted with his purse; and yet he, his familiar friend, who did eat of his bread, lift up the heele against him. So our sovereign was sold at a greater price than our

[a] Journal, Feb. 3, 1648. [b] Printed at the Hague, by Samuel Brown, and reprinted at London, 1649.

the army, assumed the supreme power of the

Saviour, by those who had as neere a relation unto him, as Judas had unto Christ: for they were his countrymen, brought up with him, his servants and familiar friends, whom he trusted with his purse, with his counsels, and his person, cherished in his bosome, and inriched with many princely favours. In many respects they were far worse than Judas.——From Judas come we to the great counsel. The parliament is that great counsel, and hath acted all and more against their lord and sovereign, than the other did against Christ: they consulted how to put him to death, gave money to betray him, sent soldiers to apprehend him. In that great counsel, Annas and Caiphas were chief; in this Cromwell and Ireton; and Cromwell prophesied as Caiphas did, using almost the same words, It is expedient that he die, and unless he die the nation will perish. Bradshaw and Cooke are the scribes and lawyers who fiercely persued him: they curse themselves with his blood, as the others did with Christ's: for Bradshaw spoke to this purpose on the bench: Our lives are threatened if we meddle with his blood; but whatsoever shall befall us, we will do justice upon him. And is not this just as the scribes and pharisees said, His blood be upon us and on our children. Fairfax was Pilat the governor, who seemed unwilling to consent to his death, and sought to wash his hands of his blood by laying it upon others. And his wife lady Pilat, who disswaded the murther of our sovereign, more than the other did the killing of Christ. The army are the soldiers who apprehended him, watched him, mocked him, reviled him, crying justice and execution against him, and at last crucified him, and parted his garments amongst them. And London is the great city spiritually Sodome, where our Lord was crucified."——The preacher in the conclusion, addressing himself to the king [Charles II.] says, "God in his own good time, will certainly, Sir, look upon the justice of your cause—For your cause is God's cause. And as it is God's cause, so it is the cause of all kings: they are deeply

nation, in the way of a free state. The kingly

concerned in it, and ought to pursue those bloody paracides." This language may sound harsh, but is softer than secretary Nicholas's, who styled them "devils[a]."

And in an act of parliament passed soon after the restoration of Charles II. the execution of the king is styled, "An horrid and execrable murder, an unparalleled treason," which the said parliament did "renounce, abominate and protest against:" and it was declared, "That by the undoubted and fundamental laws of the kingdom, neither the peers of the realm, nor the commons, nor both together in parliament, nor the people collectively, nor representatively, nor any other person whatsoever, ever had, have, or ought to have, a coercive power over the persons of the kings of this realm."—And in virtue of this doctrine, Cromwell and many other of the king's judges were attainted of high treason, and some suffered as traytors for consenting to his death. It would be tedious as well as endless to reckon up the reproaches which have been cast on Cromwell for this action: suffice it to say that the bigots, the time servers, the party men, and many of the honest and sensible men of most denominations, have joined in the cry, and represented him as one of the most wicked of men.——But, though men's prejudices ran very high at the time of Charles's death, yet wanted there not advocates to defend the deed. Some of their reasons the truth of history requires me to recite, though I am no way answerable for the conclusiveness of them.

1. It was said, "That the people, (I mean collectively taken) have no law of nature, or of God upon them, which prohibiteth them from laying aside a king, or kingly governor, from amongst them, when they have a reasonable cause for it. Such a cause as this they have (I mean that which is just, and reasonable, and competent) for so doing, when either they find, by experience, that government by

[a] Ormond's State Papers, by Carte, vol. I. p. 255.

power and house of peers, by the authority of kings hath been a nuisance to the peace or liberties of the people, and apprehend, by reason, that, if continued, it is like still so to be; or find, that the charge of maintaining such a government, hath been, and, if continued, is like to be (for the future) over burthensome to the state, conceiving, upon good grounds, withal, that another form of government will accommodate the interest of the state upon equal or better terms, with less charge and expence; especially when they find, that the government we speak of is gotten into a race or blood, that is unfit for government, as that which, for several descents together, as in father, in son, in son's son, &c. is either boiled up into, and breaks out in oppression and tyranny, or else turns to a water of natural simplicity and weakness, or froths into voluptuousness and luxury, or the like; in all these cases (I say) and many others like unto these, a people or state, formerly governed by kings, may very lawfully turn these servants of theirs out of their doors, as the Romans of old, and the Hollanders of late (besides many nations more) have done, and are blameless [a]."

2. "Though it should be supposed, that the king simply and absolutely is superiour to his people, yet, having entered into a civil, yea, and sacred covenant and bond with them, the breach hereof on his part giveth unto them a lawfulnesse of right or power, to compel him to the terms of his agreement, or to make satisfaction for his violation of them.——And though it should be granted, that a king is either equal or superiour in power to his people in parliament, yet, being degenerated into a tyrant, he is neither. Whether the king be such, it is the right of the people, by their representatives, to declare. For, where there is no opportunity for the interposure of other judges, the law of nature and of nation, alloweth every man to judge in his own case. Even as the late king took upon him to be judge

[a] Goodwin's Defence of the Sentence passed upon the late King, p. 12. Lond. 4to. 1649.

this commonwealth, were abolished, the lands

in his own case; when he sentenced all those who served in the wars on the parliament's side against him, for rebels and traytors, and commanded execution accordingly.——That supposing the parliament (on account of the force put on it by the army, and the abolishing the house of lords) by whose authority the high court of justice was founded and created, was no formal, legal or compleat parliament, yet will not this neither disable the justice or righteousnesse of the sentence; unlesse it could be further supposed (which apparent truth prohibiteth any man to suppose) that there were some other magistrate, one, or more, superiour in place and authority to this parliament, who, probably, would either have erected a like court of justice for the same end (the capital tryall of the king) or else have called him to the bar of some court of justice already established, and prosecuted the same trial here. For doubtlesse, the execution of justice and judgment is so absolutely and essentially necessary to the preservation and well-being of a state, or body politique, that both the law of God and nature doth not only allow it in any member, one, or more, of such a body, in their order, turn, and course, (when those, who are peculiarly deputed for such execution, shall neglect or refuse it, as, viz. magistrates and judges)[a] but even calleth them unto it, and requireth it at their hands, in such cases."

3. As to the clause in the covenant, which bound them to preserve the king's person, it was said, "That, in the then circumstances, neither the preservation of the liberties of the kingdom, nor the bringing delinquents to punishment (to which, by the same covenant, they were bound) were consistent therewith, and consequently was unfit to be observed by them. Late and lamentable experience," says the writer, just quoted, "shewed how near the liberties of the kingdom were to ruin, by occasion of the preservation of the king's person only (and that only for a season) though

[a] Goodwin's Defence, &c. p. 40.

of the crown sold, with the jewels and paintings

his authority was kept under hatches. It was the preservation of his person that gave life, and breath, and being, to those dangerous insurrections in Kent, Essex, London, Surry, Wales, &c. by means whereof there was but a step between the liberties of the kingdom and perpetual enslavement. It was the preservation of his person (with hope of restitution of his authority) that administered strength unto Scotland to conceive the conquest of England, and to make the attempt, by invading it with an army of about (if not above) 30000 men: unto whose teeth (doubtlesse) this nation had been a prey, had they not fought from heaven, had not the stars in their courses fought against them. And had his person still been preserved (especially with his authority) according to all experiments which the world hath made, and had, in such cases, yea, according to all principles, as well of religion, as of reason and policy, it would have been a spring or fountain of bitter waters unto the land, and a darkening of the light in the heavens thereof. And, instead of bringing delinquents to condign punishment, it cannot, in any rational construction, but be supposed, that it would have been the lifting up the heads of such persons unto undeserved places of honour [a]."

4. "Never," says Mr. Goodwin, "was any person, under heaven, sentenced with death upon more equitable or just grounds, in respect of guilt or demerit.——He that is the architect and master-workman in raising an unnecessary or unjust war, makes himself the first-born of murtherers, and is responsible both to God and men, for all the blood that is shed in this war. If kings might make war upon their subjects, when, and upon what pretences, they please, and then be justified and acquitted from all outrages of blood, and other villanies, perpetrated in this war, one sin might make an atonement for another; yea one great sin a cloak and covering for many. The late wars, wherein the king, by

[a] Goodwin's Defence, &c. p. 55.

belonging to Charles I. and every mark of

the sword of those men of blood, who cast in their lot with him, shed so much innocent blood in the land, being causelesly, and contrary to the frequent obtestations, humble petitions, earnest sollicitations, grave advisements of his great councel (the parliament) commenced by himself, are so far from mediating for the blood shed, on his behalf, that they open the mouth of it the wider, and cause it to cry so much the louder for vengeance upon him, and his, both unto God and men[a]." And the parliament, after giving a short detail of Charles's behaviour in his government, adds, "Upon all these, and many other unparalleled offences, upon his breach of faith, of oaths and protestations, upon the cry of the blood of Ireland and of England, upon the tears of widows and orphans, and childless parents, and millions of persons undone by him, let all the world of indifferent men judge, whether the parliament had not sufficient cause to bring the king to justice[b]."

5. "I ask," says Milton, "by what conscience, or divinity, or law, or reason, a state is bound to leave all these sacred concernments under a perpetual hazard and extremity of danger, rather than cut off a wicked prince, who sits plotting day and night to subvert them. They tell us, that the law of nature justifies any man to defend himself, even against the king in person: let them shew us then, why the same law may not justify much more a state or whole people, to do justice upon him, against whom each private man may lawfully defend himself; seeing all kind of justice done is a defence to good men, as well as a punishment to bad; and justice done upon a tyrant is no more but the necessary self-defence of a whole commonwealth. To war upon a king, that his instruments may be brought to condign punishment, and thereafter to punish them the instruments, and not to spare only, but defend and honour him

[a] Goodwin's Defence, &c. p. 98.

[b] Declaration of the Parliament of England, expressing the grounds of their late proceedings, and of settling the present government in the way of a free state, p. 13. 4to. London, March 22, 1648.

ignominy and contempt cast on his name,

the author, is the strangest piece of justice to be called Christian, and the strangest piece of reason to be called human, that, by men of reverence and learning, ever yet was vented[a]."

6. As to the objection, that many members of parliament were, by force, excluded, the privilege of it highly broken, and they who were permitted to sit in parliament acted still under a force, and were upon their good behaviour: as to this, it was by the parliament replied,——"That every parliament ought to act upon their good behaviour; and few have acted, but some kind of force hath at one time or other been upon them; and most of them under the force of tyrannical will, and fear of ruine by displeasure thereof; some under the force of several factions or titles to the crown: yet the laws made, even by such parliaments, have continued, and been received, and beneficial to succeeding ages. All which, and whatsoever hath been done by this parliament, since some of their members deserted them, and the late king raised forces against them, and several disorders and affronts formerly offered to them (if this objection take place) are wholly vacated. For any breach of privilege of parliament, it will not be charged upon the remaining part, or to have been within their power of prevention or reparation; or that they have not enjoyed the freedom of their own persons and votes, and are undoubtedly, by the law of parliaments, far exceeding that number which makes a house, authorized for the dispatch of any business whatsoever: and that, which at present is called a force upon them, is some of their best friends, called and appointed by the parliament for their safety, and for the guard of them against their enemies; who, by this means, being disappointed of their hopes to destroy the parliament, would, nevertheless, scandalize their actions, as done under a force, who, in truth, are no other than their own guards of their own army, by themselves appointed: and, when it fell

[a] Milton's Prose Works, vol. I. p. 362.

family, and government. To conciliate men

into consideration, whether the priviledge of parliament, or the safety of the kingdom, should be preferred, it is not hard to judge which ought to sway the ballance; and that the parliament ought to pass by the breach of priviledge (as had been formerly often done upon much smaller grounds) rather than, by a sullen declining their duty and trust, to resign up all the apparent hazard of ruin and confusion of the nation [a]."——These were the principal reasons at that time given for this most extraordinary action. The reader will judge of their force, and determine whether they answer the objections founded on the illegality and violence of the proceeding. It should be observed, however, that the abettors of it gloried that it was performed in the eye of the world, and that an example was set to posterity how to act in similar circumstances.——"There want not precedents of some of his predecessors, said they, who have been deposed by parliaments, but were afterwards in darkness, and in corners, basely murthered. This parliament held it more agreeable to honour and justice, to give the king a fair and open trial, by above an hundred gentlemen, in the most publick place of justice, free (if he had so pleased) to make his defence [b]."——"If the parliament and military council do what they do without precedent," says Milton, "if it appear their duty, it argues the more wisdom, virtue and magnanimity, that they know themselves able to be a precedent to others, who, perhaps, in future ages, if they prove not too degenerate, will look up with honour, and aspire towards these exemplary and matchless deeds of their ancestors, as to the highest top of their civil glory and emulation; which, heretofore, in the pursuance of fame and foreign dominion, spent itself vain-gloriously abroad; but, henceforth, may learn a better fortitude, to dare execute highest justice on them that shall, by force of arms, endeavour the oppressing and bereaving of religion

[a] Declaration, &c. p. 23. [b] Id. p. 14.

to their proceedings, and make them submit to

and their liberty at home; that no unbridled potentate or tyrant, but to his sorrow, for the future, may presume such high and irresponsible licence over mankind, to havoc and turn upside whole kingdoms of men, as though they were no more, in respect of his perverse will, than a nation of pismires [a]."——"The time was," said another commonwealth advocate, "when this nation was wedded to the vanity of admiring kings, placing them in a lofty seat of impunity, like gods, that were not bound to give men an account of their actions, but had a liberty to thunder at pleasure, and put the world into combustion, so that there was no love but lust, no rule but the prince's will, which so vassalized the spirits of this great and mighty people, that they were content to establish the highest piece of injustice by such maxims of law, as said, 'the king can do no wrong;' as if whatsoever he did could not make him a delinquent or a traitor; nor was it law only, but those antiquated cheats of the clergy made it pass for divinity also; so that the commonwealth of England, for almost six hundred years, hath been pinioned like a captive with the twofold cord of the law and the gospel, which the corrupt professors have made use of after their own inventions. Yet, notwithstanding that this glorious idol of royalty was elevated to such a height over the liberties of the parliament, and set upon the very pinacle of the temple, we have lived to see a noble generation of English hearts, that have fetched it down with a vengeance, and cured the land of that idolatry, by one of the most heroic and exemplary acts of justice, that ever was done under the sun [b]."

I shall only add, that, in the year 1651, O. S. the 30th of January was observed, by the English merchants at Dantzic, in memorial of their deliverance from slavery, and a feast was made for the whole company, the expence of which

[a] Milton's Prose Works, vol. I. p. 356. Mercurius Politicus, No. 56. p. 886.

their rule, they began[33] with fair promises, and

was ordered to be repaid by the commonwealth of England[a].

[33] They began with fair promises, and expressed, at the same time, much resolution.] After it had been determined to bring the king to a trial, the house of commons acted with great spirit and vigour. They declared, that the commons of England, in parliament assembled, being chosen by, and representing, the people, have the supreme power in the nation[b]. They resolved, that a great seal be graven, with the addition of a map of the kingdom of Ireland, and of Jersey and Guernsey, together with the map of England; and, in some convenient place on that side, the arms by which the kingdoms of England and Ireland are differenced from other kingdoms. That, on the map side of the great seal, the inscription shall be, "The Great Seal of England, 1648." That the inscription, on the other side of the seal, on which the sculpture of the house of commons is engraven, shall be this, viz. "In the first year of freedom, by God's blessing restored[c]." Sixty pounds were charged on the revenue towards the charges of this seal.——On the 17th of March, after the king's execution, an act was passed "for abolishing the kingly office," and it was declared, "high treason in any one to endeavour to set up any of the late king's children, or any other person to be king of England and Ireland; and that whosoever should be convicted of the said offence, should be deemed and adjudged a traitor against the parliament and people of England[d]." And, that no hopes might be given of the restoration of monarchy, care was taken to demolish its great support the house of peers, which was declared "to be useless and dangerous to the people of England:" and it was enacted, "That the lords should not from thenceforth meet or sit in the house called the lords house, or in any other house or place what-

[a] Thurloe, vol. I. p. 554, 555. [b] Journal, 4th Jan. 1648. [c] Journal, 9th of Jan. 1648. [d] Scobel's Collection, March, 1648.

expressed, at the same time, much resolution.

soever, as a house of lords; nor should sit, vote, advise, adjudge or determine of any matter or thing whatsoever, as a house of lords, in parliament[a]." They, moreover, pulled down the statues of Charles at St. Paul's and in the Royal Exchange, and put in the nich of the latter, *Exit Tyrannus regum ultimus:* imitating the Syracusians, who, at the invitation of Timoleon, "overturned the palaces and monuments, and whatever else might preserve the memory of former tyrants[b]."——These were very bold and high acts, and such as needed an apology to the nation and the world. Accordingly a declaration was prepared and printed, in which the grounds of their proceedings were laid open in the best manner they were able. And the better to reconcile the people to their actions, and conciliate their esteem to their authority, they spoke them fair, and promised them largely. After having in the declaration vindicated their several actions, they proceed in the following manner: "The sum of all the parliament's design and endeavour in the present change of government from tyranny to a free state; and which they intend not only to declare in words, but really and speedily endeavour to bring to effect, is this; to prevent a new war, and further expence and effusion of the treasure and blood of England; and to establish a firm and safe peace, and an oblivion of all rancour and ill will occasioned by the late troubles: to provide for the due worship of God, according to his word, the advancement of the true protestant religion, and for the liberal and certain maintenance of godly ministers: to procure a just liberty for the consciences, persons and estates of all men, conformable to God's glory and their own peace: to endeavour vigorously the punishment of the cruel murtherers in Ireland, and the restoring of the honest protestants, and this commonwealth, to their rights there, and the full satisfaction of all engagements for this work: to provide for the settling and just

[a] Scobel's Collection, March, 1648. [b] Plutarch in Timoleon.

Nor were they worse than their words: for, it is very certain, great things were done by them,

observing of treaties and alliances with foreign princes and states, for the encouragement of manufactures, for the increase and flourishing of trades at home, and the maintenance of the poor in all places of the land: to take care for the due reformation and administration of the law and publique justice, that the evil may be punished and the good rewarded: to order the revenue in such a way, that the publique charges may be defrayed, the soldiers pay justly and duly settled, that free quarter may be wholly taken away, the people be eased in their burthens and taxes, and the debts of the commonwealth be justly satisfied: to remove all grievances and oppressions of the people, and to establish peace and righteousness in the land. These being their only ends, they cannot doubt of, and humbly pray to the Almighty Power for his assistance and blessing upon their mean endeavours, wherein, as they have not envied nor intermeddled, nor do intend at all to intermeddle, with the affairs of government of any other kingdom or state; or to give any offence or just provocation to their neighbours, with whom they desire entirely to preserve all fair correspondence and amity, if they please; and confine themselves to the proper work, the managing of the affairs, and ordering the government of this commonwealth, and matters in order thereunto, with which they are intrusted and authorised by the consent of all the people thereof, whose representatives by election they are. So they do presume upon the like fair and equal dealing from abroad; and that they, who are not concerned, will not interpose in the affairs of England, who doth not interpose in theirs; and, in case of any injury, they doubt not, but by the courage and power of the English nation, and the good blessing of God (who hath hitherto miraculously owned the justness of their cause, and, they hope, will continue to do the same) they shall be sufficiently enabled to make their full defence, and to maintain

and such as were very much to their honour. Witness the prosecution of the war in Ireland,

their own rights. And they do expect from all true hearted Englishmen, not only a forbearance of any publique or secret plots or endeavours, in opposition to the present settlement, and thereby to kindle new flames of war and misery amongst us, whereof themselves must have a share; but a chearful concurrence and acting for the establishment of the great work now in hand, in such a way, that the name of God may be honoured, the true protestant religion advanced, and the people of this land enjoy the blessings of peace, freedom and justice, to them and their posterities[a]."—— This declaration, at the same time, was printed by order of parliament in Latin, under the title of "Parliamenti Angliæ Declaratio: in quâ Res Nuperum Gestæ, et Decretum de Statu Angliæ Regio in liberam Rempublicam vertendo, asseruntur[b]." The great and remarkable transactions of the commonwealth were published by their order, and translated into Latin, for the information of other countries, as appears from a great many papers yet remaining in the hands of the curious and inquisitive: and a very accurate journal in French was published by authority of the council of state, for the like use of foreigners, intituled, "Nouvelles Ordinaires de Londres," beginning July 1650, and ending January 1660-1[c]. Nor must it be forgotten, that, for the use of their own subjects, a journal of a like nature, intituled, "Mercurius Politicus, comprising the sum of foreign intelligence, with the affairs now on foot in the three nations of England, Scotland and Ireland," was, by the same authority, printed likewise. It commences June 9, 1649, and ends in April, 1660[d]. These publications shewed great sense of propriety, honour and fair intentions in the parliament, and render it very surprising, that no complete history of

[a] Declaration, March 22, 1648. p. 25—27. [b] Londini, apud Franciscum Tytonium Mensis Martii 22°. Anno 1648. [c] Preface to the 19th vol. of the Parliamentary History. [d] Wood, vol. II. c. 626.

under the command [34] of Cromwell, their lieute-

those times should be given us by any contemporary writer. Mr. Neville speaks of "one of those who were in employment from the year 40 to 60, who had written a history of those 20 years, with great truth and impartiality[a]."—— What is become of it is not known——Probably it is lost for ever!

[34] The deeds in Ireland under the command of Cromwell.] Ireland had given the parliament great cause of resentment. Besides the barbarous massacre in 1641, which loudly called for vengeance, and which the best part of the English nation were desirous of seeing inflicted, it had shewed a particular spite and malice against the parliament. Charles cherished this disposition, and, by a variety of methods, endeavoured to make it declare in his favour, and support his cause. Some success, it is well known, he had,—— more, probably, he would have had, but for the extreme bigotry of the priests, and the nuntio, who were hardly to be satisfied by any concessions. At length, however, a peace was made between the marquis of Ormonde, lord-lieutenant-general, and general governor of the kingdom of Ireland, on behalf of king Charles of the one part, and the general assembly of the Roman Catholics of the said kingdom, for, and on behalf of his majesty's Roman Catholic subjects, on the other part. This peace was proclaimed January 17, 1648, and does very little honour to the marquis or his master. For, among other things, it was agreed, "That all acts, ordinances and orders made by both or either houses of parliament, to the blemish, dishonour, and prejudice of the Roman Catholics of that kingdom, since the 7th of August, 1641, should be vacated; that all indictements, attainders, outlawries in that kingdom, and all the processes and other proceedings, since the said time, in prejudice of the Catholics, should be made void; that Catholics might sit and vote in parliament; have places of

[a] Plato Redivivus, p. 173. 12mo. Lond. 1681. 2d edit.

nant-general, and the subsequent settlement

honour, command, profit and trust in the army, and that an act of oblivion should be passed to extend to all his majesty's subjects of that kingdom, of all treasons and offences of what nature, kind, or quality soever, since the 23d of October, 1641." In a word, every thing the Catholics could almost wish for was granted them, to the no small astonishment of the protestants. This passed not without observation in England. However, by means of this peace, the chief parts of Ireland declared for Charles, and afterwards for his son; and lord Ormonde, emboldened thereby, took the liberty to use a language towards the English government, which he little imagined they would so soon avenge. "The dregs and scum of the house of commons, picked and awed by the army," "a wicked remnant, left for no other end, than yet further, if it be possible, to delude the people with the name of a parliament," were some of the expressions his lordship made use of in his letter to colonel Jones, governor of Dublin, in order to induce him to surrender that city into his hands. Cromwell was also likened in the same letter to John of Leyden [a].

Milton, in his observations on this peace, gives his lordship very keen answers to these reproaches, though in a style far more decent. "Seeing," says he, "he contains not himself, but, contrary to what a gentleman should know of civility, proceeds to the contemptuous naming of a person, whose valour and high merit many enemies, more noble than himself, have both honoured and feared; to assert his good name and reputation, of whose service the commonwealth receives so ample satisfaction, it is answered in his behalf, that Cromwell, whom he couples with a name of scorn, hath done, in a few years, more eminent and remarkable deeds, whereon to found nobility in his house, though it were wanting, than Ormonde, and all his ancestors put to-

[a] See the Articles of Peace, Letter, &c. in Milton's Prose Works, vol. I p. 364—385.

there in pursuance of the act of parliament for

gether, can shew from any record of their Irish exploits; the widest scene of their glory[a]." This the marquis got by using abusive language.——But to proceed with the narration.—Peace being made with the catholics, and lord Inchiqueen having joined also with Ormonde, the marquis advised his young master Charles II. to come thither as to a place of security and advantage. In a memorial delivered by the lords of his majesty's council to the lords deputies for the States General, March 29, 1649, N. S. we find them, after touching on the state of England and Scotland, declaring his majesty's resolutions in the following manner: "This being the true condition of his majesty's two kingdoms of England and Scotland, and it being necessary for his majesty to give life to the afflicted state of his affairs by his own activity and vigour, your lordships clearly discern, that his other kingdom of Ireland is, for the present, fittest to receive his majesty's person; and thither he intends, with all convenient speed, to transport himself, being thereunto earnestly advised, and with great importunity invited, by the kingdom of Ireland, and by the marquis of Ormonde, his majesty's lieutenant-general there; by whose great wisdom a peace is there concluded, and thereby the king, at this time, possessed entirely of three parts of four of that his large and fruitful kingdom, and of the command of good armies and a good fleet to be joined to his navy; and he hath reason to believe that Dublin, and the few other places (that have submitted to the rebellious power in England) either are, upon the knowledge of that odious parricide, returned to their allegiance, or will be suddenly reduced; so that the affairs of that kingdom being settled (which we hope will be in a short time) the king will be ready to go from thence into Scotland, when his presence there shall be requisite[b]." How full the king was of going to Ireland, ap-

[a] See the Articles of Peace, Letter, &c. in Milton's Prose Works, vol. I. p. 993. [b] Ormonde's State Papers, by Carte, vol. I. p. 262. Lond. 1739. 8vo.

that purpose, whereby the Irish being subdued,

pears from the following letter, written in cypher by Sir Edward Nicholas, from the Hague (the day after the above memorial was given in) to lord Ormonde. "It is very true, that the king intends to make France his way to Ireland, and to meet the queen: and, I believe, he will go to Paris to her. The truth is, I cannot guess at the time of our remove, tho' the king be resolved for Ireland, and desires to be there as soon as may be: and no man is now so mad, as openly to avow a dislike of it. But the want of money is so incredible, and the debts so great, that I know not how we shall get over these difficulties. And you must know, that, though no man opposes the going into Ireland, yet many are in their hearts against it, and are glad to cherish any rubs. The Scotch faction is strong and bold, and have friends in this state. The queen, I believe, will govern very much, and is full of designs. They perswade her to go with the king into Ireland[a]."——But all these designs proved abortive: for the parliament, understanding what had passed in Ireland, appointed lieutenant-general Cromwell commander in chief of that kingdom. He had Ireton placed next in command under him, and great preparations were made for the war. In the mean time the spirit, conjured up by Cromwell in the Levellers, began to be very troublesome to the state, and incommodious to its affairs. They reproached those in power; they refused obedience to the general; and would not go into Ireland. Fairfax and Cromwell set themselves to reduce those men, and they did it so effectually, that the service of Ireland was no farther hindered. Whilst Cromwell was making preparations for his voyage, lord Ormonde besieged Dublin; but Jones found soon an opportunity to give him a specimen of the valour of the English. For, with a very few forces, comparatively, he fell on the besiegers, killed 4000, took 2517 prisoners, together with a great quantity of arms and stores. Ormonde soon after

[a] Ormonde's State Papers, &c. p. 250.

the best part of that kingdom was portioned

writ to Jones for a list of the prisoners taken, to whom Jones laconically replied, "My lord, since I routed your army, I cannot have the happiness to know where you are, that I may wait upon you[a]."——Cromwell arrived at Dublin on the 15th of August, 1649, and on the 30th of the same month took the field, besieged Drogheda, took it by storm, and put the garrison to the sword. All this was done in the space of nine days, "and a body of near 3000 men," says Borlase, were totally destroyed and massacred, with which, in respect of experience and courage of the officers, and goodness and fidelity of the common men, the marquis would have been glad to have found himself engaged in the field with the enemy, though upon some disadvantages[b]." The slaughter used at Drogheda has been looked on by the generality as very cruel and barbarous, and Cromwell has been reproached greatly on that account. And it must be confessed, that orders issued for putting to the sword, and giving no quarter, sound very shocking in the ears of the humane and benevolent. And it were to have been wished that such orders had never been given or executed by any general of rank and character. Though, if ever such treatment is justifiable, it is in such a case as this, where the known disposition and behaviour of the sufferers are remarkably barbarous, inhuman and cruel. Cromwell, in his letter to the speaker, dated Dublin, September 17, 1649, owns that he forbade to spare any that were in arms in the town, and "he thinks," he says, "that they put to the sword about 2000 men the first night they entered; that the next day one of the towers which had held out having submitted, their officers were knocked on the head, and every tenth man of the soldiers killed, and the rest shipped for the Barbadoes.—I am perswaded," adds he, "that this is a righteous judgment of God upon these barbarous wretches, who have imbrued their hands in so much innocent blood, and that it will tend to prevent the

[a] Borlase's History of the execrable Irish Rebellion, p. 222. fol. Lond. 1680.
[b] Id. p. 224.

out among the soldiers and adventurers of the

effusion of blood for the future; which are the satisfactory grounds to such actions, which, otherwise, cannot but work remorse and regret[a]." This is saying the most for the justification of the fact. The name of Cromwell, and the execution at Drogheda, had such an effect indeed, that success almost constantly attended him; insomuch that the far greater part of Ireland was reduced to the obedience of the commonwealth, before he returned to England, which was in May, 1650.———After this the war was carried on by Ireton, whom Cromwell had constituted his deputy, with like valour and success, till, in a little time, the great armies of the catholics were dispersed, their towns taken, their leaders forced to fly, and the whole kingdom, in a manner, subdued. Application was made for assistance from abroad, particularly to the duke of Lorrain, who promised great things upon conditions very high; but little was done by him, or any one else: for the English arms were every where terrible, and he thought himself most out of danger who kept himself most out of their reach. In a word, after some time the Irish being wholly reduced, their lands were divided among the soldiers and adventurers, the murtherers of the English were exemplarily punished, and peace and tranquillity were given to a land ruined by the villany and barbarity of its inhabitants. How fully Ireland was reduced by the commonwealth and Cromwell, will appear from the following extracts from Clarendon.——" When the success of the parliament had totally subdued the king's arms, and himself was so inhumanly murdered, neither the forces in Ireland, under the king's authority, nor the Irish, who had too late promised to submit to it, could make any long resistance; so that Cromwell quickly dispersed them by his own expedition thither: and, by licensing as many as desired it to transport as many from thence, for the service of the two crowns of France and Spain, as they would

[a] Parliamentary History, vol. XIX. p. 204.

contract for, quickly made a disappearance of any army in that kingdom to oppose his conquests. And after the defeat of the king at Worcester, he seemed to all men to be in as quiet a possession of Ireland as of England, and to be as much without enemies in the one as the other kingdom.———Not only all the Irish nation (very few excepted) were found guilty of the rebellion, and so to have forfeited all their estates; but the marquis of Ormonde, the lord Inchiquin, and all the English catholics, and whosoever had served the king, were declared to be under the same guilt, and the lands seized upon for the benefit of the state.——The whole kingdom was admeasured; the accounts of the money paid by the adventurers within the time limited, and what was due to the army for their pay, were stated; and such proportions of acres in the several provinces were assigned to the adventurers and officers and soldiers, as were agreeable to the act of parliament, by admeasurement.——And that every body might with the more security enjoy that which was assigned to him, they had found a way to have the consent of many to their own undoing. They found the utter extirpation of the nation (which they had intended) to be in itself very difficult, and to carry in it somewhat of horror, that made some impression upon the stone-hardness of their own hearts.———They therefore found this expedient, which they called an act of grace. There was a large tract of land, even to the half of the province of Conaught, that was separated from the rest by a long and large river, and which, by the *plague and many massacres, remained* almost desolate. *Into this space and circuit of land they* required *all the Irish to retire by such a day under the* penalty of death; and *all who should after that time be* found in any other part of the kingdom, man, woman, or child, should be killed by any body that met them. The land within this circuit, the most barren in the kingdom, was, out of the grace and mercy of the conquerors, assigned to those of the nation, who were enclosed in such proportions as might, with great industry, preserve their lives.

And to those persons, from whom they had taken great quantities of land in other provinces, they assigned the greater proportions within this precinct; so that it fell to some men's lot, especially when they were accommodated with houses, to have a competent livelihood, though never to the fifth part of what had been taken from them in a much better province. And, that they might not be exalted with this merciful donative, it was a condition that accompanied this their accommodation, that they should all give releases of their former rights and titles to the land that was taken from them, in consideration of what was now assigned to them; and so they should for ever bar themselves and their heirs from ever laying claim to their old inheritance.——And, by this means, the plantation (as they called it) of Conaught was finished, and all the Irish nation inclosed within that circuit, the rest of Ireland being left to the English; some to the old lords and just proprietors, who, being all protestants (for no Roman catholic was admitted) had either never offended them, or had served them, or had made composition for their delinquencies, by the benefit of some articles; and some to the adventurers and soldiers. And a good and great part (as I remember, the whole province of Tipperary) Cromwell had reserved to himself, as a demesne (as he called it) for the state, and in which no adventurer or soldier should demand his lot to be assigned, and, no doubt, intended both the state and it for the making great his own family. It cannot be imagined in how easy a method, and with what peaceable formality, this whole great kingdom was taken from the just lords and proprietors, and divided and given among those, who had no other right to it, but that they had power to keep it, no men having so great shares as they who had been instruments to murder the king, and were not like, willingly, to part with it to his successor.——Ireland was the great capital, out of which all debts were paid, all services rewarded, and all acts of bounty performed. And, which is more wonderful, all this was done and settled, within little more than two years, to that degree of perfection, that there

English nation; witness the actions of Crom-

were many buildings raised for beauty as well as use, orderly and regular plantations of trees, and fences and enclosures raised throughout the kingdom, purchases made by one from the other at very valuable rates, and jointures made upon marriages, and all other conveyances and settlements executed, as in a kingdom of peace within itself, and where no doubt could be made of the validity of titles[a]." The reader need not be told how much honour this relation does to the parliament of the commonwealth of England, by whose wisdom these great things were thus settled and accomplished. His lordship strongly indeed insinuates cruelty in these proceedings: but his word is not to be depended on. That they intended the utter extirpation of the Irish nation is mere calumny, as appears from the preamble to the act for settling Ireland, in which, among other reasons for passing it, one is, "That the people of that nation might know that it is not the intention of the parliament to extirpate that whole nation, but that mercy and pardon, both as to life and estate, may be extended to all husbandmen, plowmen, labourers, artificers, and others of the inferior sort[b]." The curious reader will do well to consult the act. I will not dilate on his lordship's styling Tipperary a province; such a mistake is pardonable in a man who confesses himself to have been ignorant of there being any such place in England as Sheerness[c].——However, I cannot find that Cromwell reserved it as a demesne for the state or his own family.——I will only add, that lord Molesworth gives it as his opinion, that to Cromwell's distributing of the enemies lands to the soldiers in Ireland, "we owe that kingdom's being a protestant kingdom at this day, and its continuing subject to the crown of England[d]."

Lieutenant-general Ludlow had a great share in all these transactions.—The spirit with which he acted will appear

[a] Continuation of Clarendon's Life, vol. II. p. 114—118. [b] Scobel's Collections, Anno 1652, c. 13. [c] Continuation, vol. III. p. 752. [d] Preface to Hottoman's Franco Gallia, 2d edit. p. 30.

well in Scotland, which, with the victory at

from the following answer given to a letter of the marquis of Clanrickarde, desiring a conference with him for the settling the repose of the nation, and a safe conduct for commissioners to treat with him for that purpose.

My Lord,

In answer to yours of the 24th of March, by which you propose a treaty for the settlement of this country, and desire a safe conduct for the commissioners you shall judge fit to employ in the management of that affair, I think fit, in pursuance of the advice of the commissioners of the parliament of England, and of many officers of the English army, to advertise you, as hath been already answered to those who have sent propositions of the like nature, that the settlement of this nation doth of right belong to the parliament of the commonwealth of England, to whom we are obliged in duty to leave it, being assured that they will not capitulate with those who ought to submit to them, and yet oppose themselves to their authority, and upon vain and frivolous hopes have refused such offers of favour as they would gladly accept at present: so that I fear they will be constrained to proceed against them with the highest severity, which that you may prevent by your timely submission, is the desire of,

My Lord,
Your humble servant,
EDMUND LUDLOW[a]."

This reduction of Ireland, in so short a time, when the affairs of the commonwealth were in so low a state there, does, undoubtedly, great honour to Cromwell, as well as the other commanders in chief after him. His actions here have always justly made one part of his panegyric. We shall soon see that he did not disgrace them by any after military ill behaviour.

[a] Ludlow, vol. I. p. 398.

Worcester [35], so totally broke the power of

[35] Cromwell's actions in Scotland, and the victory of Worcester.] It is well known, that the Scots were extremely ill used by Charles the First; that they opposed his measures; marched an army into England; joined with the parliament, and helped to reduce him to a state of captivity.——They stopped short, however, here, and very violently opposed his trial and condemnation, looking on him as their king, and the judges as murtherers.——Thus matters stood when the commonwealth was erected in England. Soon after application was made to Charles II. by commissioners from the Scottish nation, in order to his entrance into that kingdom, and mounting the throne of his ancestors. Many of the young king's counsellors were against this, looking on the Scots as a rebellious nation who had been the original cause of the late king's misfortunes. And very probable it is, that had not lord Ormonde, and the catholic confederates in Ireland, been defeated by Jones and Cromwell, he would not have had a thought of going thither. Lord Byron, in a letter to the marquis of Ormonde, dated Hague, April 12, 1649, N. S. writes as follows: "Commissioners are come out of Scotland, consisting of one earl (the earl of Cassels) two burgesses, and four divines, to treat with his majesty concerning the affairs of that kingdom, or rather to impose unsufferable conditions upon him. To give the better assurance of their good intentions to his service, immediately before their coming out of Scotland, the marquis of Huntley was put to death for no other crime but his loyalty to the king. Their propositions are as insolent as can be imagined; for they require that all malignants and evil counsellors (and particularly the marquis of Montrose) should be banished the court; that his majesty should take both the national covenant and the holy league and covenant (as they term it) and establish a presbyterian government in all his kingdoms. But the king being now unfortunately in a presbyterian country, cannot resent these indignities so as otherwise he would.

Scotland, that it was no longer in a condition

However, his intention is, not to enter into any particular debate of these propositions, but to remit the commissioners till his coming into Ireland, the matters propounded by them concerning his other kingdoms as well as Scotland [a]." ——Sir Edward Nicholas, in a letter to the same nobleman, dated Jersey, October 13-23, 1649, says, "There are Scots commissioners coming hither; but their propositions are as unreasonable as the former sent into Holland. They have now a strong faction about the king: and the lord Jermyn (who is esteemed the head of the Scots presbyterian faction) hath, its said, gained many that are now about his majesty to his party, and, some say, will come hither to assist with all his interest and power the advancement of the king's designs. The truth is, Sir Edward Hyde being so unnecessarily and unskilfully employed in Spain, hath given an infinite advantage to the Scots presbyterians; for he was expert in all their jigs and artifices [b]."——What the good secretary would have had the young king do is hard to say. There was no place for him in England or Ireland——where then could he go but into Scotland? How expert soever Sir Edward Hyde might be in the Scots jigs and artifices, it would not have been in his power to have hindered the king's resolving to agree with the commissioners of that kingdom, though, it is very certain, his inclination was not much that way. For he had no love for the Scots league and covenant; he relished not the manners and behaviour of the ruling part of that nation; nor could he well put on the stiff and formal air which was almost essentially necessary to gain their favour. But necessity has no law: the king leaving Breda took ship in Holland; landed in Scotland; and, having taken the solemn league and covenant, and signed a declaration, wherein he renounced the sins of his father's house, and of his own, and the idolatry of his mother, was solemnly crowned there. This filled the roy-

[a] Ormonde's State Papers, vol. I. p. 268. [b] Id. p. [illegible].

to support its own independency, much less

alists with hopes, as appears from a letter of lord Ormonde to Sir Edward Nicholas, dated Louvre, February 12, 1650. "Though it be very true, that his majesty's condition must be to himself most irksome, and to his servants, that have endeavoured to serve his happy father and himself in their own method, most uncomfortable, yet, by what Mr. Seymour relates, and which seems confirmed by the London prints, it may be truly said to be in some degree amended by his coronation, and the conjunction of that people, which, as it gives some foreign reputation to his business, so it promises more of resistance against the rebels, than when they were divided; and, consequently, may more probably afford an opportunity to others of better inclinations to show themselves; and the same God, who, contrary to, and beyond the original intention of the English rebels, hath permitted them to perpetrate so unexampled villanies against the royal family and freedom of England, may, contrary to, and beyond the purpose of the Scots (who gave the rise to the perpetration) make them instrumental in the restoration, I hope he purposes, to the king's just power, and his people's free claim[a]." But his lordship's hopes were ill founded. The Scots were zealous indeed to serve their covenanted king, and they hated heartily the English government and army, whom they were taught by their clergy to look on and call sectaries, a name, in the ears of the priests and priest-ridden, most odious and abominable. Great preparations were every where made to raise an army, which might destroy these men, and restore his majesty to the English throne. But the thing was not so easily effected as planned. Those who sat at the helm of affairs were upon their guard. On the 12th of June, 1650, the parliament voted, that the lord-general Fairfax, and lieutenant-general Cromwell, should both be commanded to go upon the northern expedition: and that the council of

[a] Ormonde's State Papers, vol. I. p. 405.

place the son of the late king on the throne of

state (which had been constituted at the beginning of the new government, and consisted of some of the most able men in it) do acquaint them with it, and take care for their speedy march towards Scotland. For they thought it best to be before hand with the Scots, and to carry the war into that country.

"Fairfax being advised with herein, seemed at first to like well of it, but afterwards being hourly perswaded by the presbyterian ministers, and his own lady, who was a great patroness of them, he declared himself unsatisfied that there was a just ground for the parliament of England to send their army to invade Scotland: but that in case the Scots should invade England, then he was forward to engage against them in defence of his own country. The council of state, somewhat troubled at his excellency's scruples, appointed Cromwell, Lambert, Harrison, St. John, and Whitlock, to be a committee to confer hereupon with him; and to endeavour to satisfy him of the justice and lawfulness of this undertaking. Accordingly this committee met lord Fairfax, and being shut up together in a room in Whitehall, they went first to prayer, that God would direct them in this business; and Cromwell began. Most of the committee also prayed, after which they discoursed in the manner related at large by Mr. Whitlock." From his account it appears that Fairfax grounded his unwillingness to invade Scotland, on the foundation of the two nations being bound in the national league and covenant; "And now for us," said he, "contrary thereunto and without sufficient cause given us by them, to enter into their country with an army, and to make war upon them, is that which I cannot see the justice of, nor how we shall be able to justify the lawfulness of it to God or man." Cromwell to this replied: "I confess, my lord, that if they have given us no cause to invade them, it will not be justifiable in us to do it; and to make war upon them without a sufficient ground for it, will be contrary to that which in conscience we ought to do,

his fathers, which the Scots had fondly hoped

and displeasing both to God and good men. But, my lord, if they have invaded us, as your lordship knows they have done, since the national covenant, and contrary to it, in that action of the duke of Hamilton, which was by order and authority from the parliament of that kingdom, and so the act of the whole nation by their representatives: and if they now give us too much cause of suspicion that they intend another invasion upon us, joining with their king, with whom they have made a full agreement, without the assent or privity of this commonwealth, and are very busy at this present in raising forces and money to carry on their design: if these things are not a sufficient ground and cause for us to endeavour to provide for the safety of our own country, and to prevent the miseries which an invasion of the Scots would bring upon us, I humbly submit it to your excellencies judgment. That they have formerly invaded us, and brought a war into the bowels of our country, is known to all, wherein God was pleased to bless us with success against them; and that they now intend a new invasion upon us, I do as really believe, and have as good intelligence of, as we can of any thing not yet acted. Therefore I say, my lord, that, upon these grounds, I think we have a most just cause to begin, or rather to return and requite their hostility first begun upon us; and thereby to free our country (if God shall be pleased to assist us, and I doubt not but he will) from the great misery and calamity of having an army of Scots within our country. That there will be a war between us, I fear is unavoidable. Your excellency will soon determine whether it be better to have this war in the bowels of another country or our own; and that it will be in one of them, I think it is without scruple."— This seems all very forcible, but it had no effect on Fairfax, who having before taken his resolution, as it should seem, contented himself with saying to this and the like kind of argument urged by Whitlock, St. John, and Harrison, "That human probabilities are not sufficient grounds to

for. Indeed, after this last defeat, Scotland

make war upon a neighbour nation, especially our brethren of Scotland, to whom we are engaged in a solemn league and covenant[a]." One must have had a strange understanding, or been under a very strange influence to have talked after this rate! But so it was, Fairfax chose rather to resign his commission than go against the Scots, in order to prevent their intended visit into his own country. Cromwell urged him to continue it with great vehemence, but in vain, and being sure that he was immoveably fixed in his determination, pressed him, and the parliament to continue him, with all that dexterity and dissimulation I have elsewhere mentioned.—Cromwell now, by an ordinance of parliament, succeeded Fairfax in the supreme command, and the parliament published a declaration upon the marching of their army into Scotland. In this declaration they take notice of the averseness to amity and friendship to the commonwealth manifested by the Scots, and their hostile disposition, notwithstanding the signal hand of God against them upon their late invasion. After this they mention their transactions in 1648, and the kindnesses which they had received from the English army when in Scotland, "yet now," continues the parliament, "laying aside all consideration of former kindnesses, and of their expressions and engagements of justice and treaties, the common bonds of human society, they endeavour to exercise their power for the destruction of those by whose means they did receive it; they again insist upon the same pretensions to matters of our government, and take upon them to determine what is fundamental here; and direct and threaten us, if we change not what is now established, and form it to their mind, or accommodate it to their interest.—Their design and resolution again to invade England, will be the more evident, if we remember, 1. That upon occasion of demanding only a treaty for satisfaction

[a] Memorial, p. 460—462.

was by the arms of the English commonwealth

for their former invasion, they do, in express terms, declare themselves enemies to the government of this commonwealth, and all that adhere thereto, and lay foundations of sedition, and new insurrections amongst ourselves. 2. In pursuance of these grounds, they who cannot claim to themselves the least colour of authority or dominion over us, yet have taken upon them, in Scotland, to proclaim Charles Stuart to be king of England and Ireland; and in their treaty since with him, have promised him their assistance against this nation. 3. Before the late invasion from Scotland, the parliament of England, upon foresight of their disposition to what followed, and seeing their preparation, and the party they had seduced in order thereunto, believing what the event was like to be, sent thither commissioners to treat for preventing the effusion of blood; but the treaty was refused, and answered only with the immediate march of their army into England. Having therefore again refused the amicable offer of a treaty for peace, we have reason to expect another invasion. 4. They have equally declared against us as sectaries, as they have against those of Montrose's party, putting us into the same rank with malignants and papists.———Their design and purpose being thus evident, a necessity is upon us to use our best endeavours, with God's assistance, to prevent them, and not leave them to invade us at their chosen opportunity, and our greatest disadvantage, when they shall have compleated their design with foreign states for their aid, and with their faction and party in this nation for correspondence and concurrence in their attempts upon us; and that we may not be at the insupportable charge of keeping several armies in our own bowels, and subject ourselves to the contributions, plunderings, and barbarous usage of a Scots army, if we suffer them again to enter; or of keeping our formed army constantly upon the borders, for preventing or resisting those attempts upon us, which they are waiting an opportunity at their best advantage to make. A burthen

almost wholly subdued, and those who had bid

from which we ought to apply our best endeavours to free the people, who have suffered so deeply already by their means; which hath been part of their design, hereby to bring the people to a discontent with the government from the sense of charge, without considering the cause of the continuance thereof, that so they may be fitted to receive their impressions, and carry on their faction among us, and keep it ready for them to make use of when they shall see cause[a]."—On the 29th of June, Cromwell set forward from London towards the north, and by the approbation of the parliament, a declaration of the army of England, upon their march into Scotland, was printed. The title of it, too remarkable to be omitted, runs thus: To all that are saints, and partakers of the faith of God's elect, in Scotland[b]. There is a cant here and there interspersed, but on the whole it is far from a contemptible performance. In it is given their reasons for bringing the late king to justice, and excluding his family from the throne; as also for abolishing the house of lords, and erecting a commonwealth. After which, the breach of the covenant; the rejection of presbyterian government; and the heresies and blasphemies charged on them by some statists, as they style them, are refuted: and the king and his adherents are represented as influenced by popish counsels. They then add, "Is there

[a] Parliamentary History, vol. XIX. p. 276—283.

[b] It is not improbable this declaration of the army of England, upon their march into Scotland, was intended to obviate the prejudices excited against them in "The declaration of major-general Massey and 80 other English officers and commanders ingaged with the kingdom of Scotland, in behalf of their presbyterian brethren, in England, Ireland, and the principalitie of Wales. Declaring the grounds and reasons moving them to take up arms in the kingdom of Scotland; admonishing all conscientious presbyterians not to apostatize from their first principles, nor adhere, engage, or take up arms with the rebels at Westminster. Dated at Orkney island, March 29, 1650." In quarto, without printer's name, or place. The title of this piece alone might satisfy us of the spirit with which it is written; which indeed is sharp, irritating, and abusive, and full of the blackest characters of the army and the parliament.

defiance to their own princes, were forced to

not now just cause for all good men with you to fear that one so bred, so engaged and interested, and meerly in such a way coming in to you, doth but watch his opportunity (to speak nothing of the weight of blood of the saints under the altar, crying still for vengeance upon him and that family) till by his influence upon your army, which you know how composed, he may gain his ends upon you; and how likewise the generality of the people of Scotland are affected, is not unworthy of your most serious consideration, nor of a friendly intimation from us[a]."——Cromwell also, at his arrival in Berwick, published another declaration to the people of Scotland, in which referring to the grounds of the army's marching thither as set forth by the parliament in their declaration above-mentioned, he takes notice of the unjust reproaches and false slanders cast on the army under his command; and in order to refute them, appeals to his known conduct, when in their country two years before, towards the people in general, and the best affected in particular. He then goes on to assure the gentry and commonalty of Scotland, "That he will not offer the least violence or injury to their persons, goods or possessions, they being innocent in his opinion, and invites them to stay and abide in their own habitations, where," says he, "they may and shall enjoy what they have in peace; and not to suffer themselves to be mislead by the craft and subtilty of any, into that which must needs prove their inevitable loss and ruin, and a great hazard to their country[b]."

But these were things of little consequence in comparison of the after actions of Cromwell and his army. For they made it appear to Scotland and the world, that their discipline and valour were unparalleled. The country people were treated with great kindness by the general; their wants supplied; and such as in the least injured them, very severely punished. On the 22d day of July, 1650, Crom-

[a] Parliamentary History, vol. XIX. p. 306. [b] Id. p. 311.

submit to a foreign (but not a grievous) yoke.

well entered Scotland, and endeavoured by a variety of ways to bring the Scots to a battle. But they, though there were some smart skirmishes, kept themselves from a general engagement, and thought by that means to occasion the English, as the winter approached, to return through want of provisions. They probably judged rightly; and had they kept their resolution, Cromwell might have had the mortification of finding himself unable to execute his designs.—— But prudence or fortune failed them, Cromwell began to find himself in such difficulties that he thought it proper to retreat towards Dunbar; the Scots followed him close, with an army greatly superior. They now thought they had Cromwell in their power, and they were determined not to let him escape.——What condition the English were in, what the hopes of the Scots, and at the same time the high enthusiasm of Cromwell, will best appear from his own letter to Mr. Speaker Lenthall, dated Dunbar, Sept. 4, 1650. Speaking of his retreat towards Dunbar, he adds, "Their [the Scots] whole army was in march after us: and indeed our drawing back in this manner, with the addition of three new regiments added to them, did much heighten their confidence, if not presumption and arrogancy. The enemy that night we perceived gathered towards the hills, labouring to make a perfect interposition between us and Berwick; and having in this posture a great advantage, through his better knowledge of the country, which he effected by sending a considerable party to the strait pass at Copperspath, where ten men to hinder are better than forty to make their way. And truly this was an exigent to us, whereby the enemy reproached us with that condition the parliament's army was in when it made its hard conditions with the king in Cornwall. By some reports that have come to us, they had disposed of us and of their business, in sufficient revenge and wrath towards our persons, and had swallowed up the poor interest of England, believing that their army and their king would have marched

For it is well known that the government there

to London without any interruption; it being told us, we know not how truly, by a prisoner we took the night before the fight, that their king was very suddenly to come amongst them, with those English they allowed to be about him; but in what they were thus lifted up, the Lord was above them. The enemy lying in the posture before mentioned, having those advantages, we lay very near him, being sensible of our disadvantages, having some weakness of flesh, but yet consolation and support from the Lord himself, to our poor weak faith, wherein I believe not a few amongst us shared, that because of their numbers, because of their advantages, because of their confidence, because of our weakness, because of our strait, we were in the mount, and in the mount the Lord would be seen, and that he would find out a way of deliverance and salvation for us: and indeed we had our consolations and our hopes[1]." Nor were their hopes vain. On the third of September, Cromwell, with an army of about 7500 foot, and 3500 horse, attacked the Scotch army, consisting, as it was said, of 6000 horse, and 16,000 foot at least, and in less than an hour put the whole army into confusion, totally routed them, and had the chase and execution of them near eight miles. In this battle the Scots had 3000 killed, 10,000 made prisoners, exclusive of officers, all their baggage and train taken, with 200 colours.——This victory, so unexpected in Scotland and England, filled the friends of the commonwealth and Cromwell with great joy. "Our prayers are heard," said Mr. Sympson in a letter to the lord general, dated Sept. 10, 1650, "our trust on him answered, his promise accomplished to judge our cause in the day of battle, when he might have judged our persons according to our sins.—— Our enemies here (the morning of that day before these tidings came) run up and down to their friends with news, that you were coming back with shame; they insulted in

[1] Parliamentary History, vol. XIX. p. 314. See Appendix

was far enough from being burthensome to the

their shops and street, because that was now come to pass they always looked for, &c. But whilst their hearts were thus merry in them, their faces grew pale, their countenances cast down, because the sword of the Lord and of his servants had prevailed[a]."———Oliver St. John also, writing on the same occasion to the general, observes, "That God had determined the dispute between England and Scotland, in such a manner as all may see and acknowledge that he hath done it; and therefore you could not fight when and as you desired; but then when your forces were lessened in number, and the remainder weakned by sickness and wants, and thereby much dispirited; and when the enemy thence and by their recruits, became confident, relying upon and boasting in the arm of flesh. This season did the Lord chuse to give his judgment in, and signal was it, for sithence these wars, never was there, as I remember, so great a victory obtained with so little loss of ours[b]." Such a victory, indeed, in such circumstances, may excuse a little enthusiasm, in minds less disposed to it than Cromwell and his friends! No doubt this appearance of Providence, and these congratulations received, must have been highly pleasing to the lord general. The parliament, sensible of Cromwell's merit in this affair, on receiving the account, paid him all the respect the most ambitious man, one would think, could wish for. They ordered "men, money, provisions, medicaments, physicians, apothecaries, and all other necessaries for the army in Scotland; they set apart a day of thanksgiving; appointed that the colours then brought up, together with those taken from the Scots at Preston, to be set up in Westminster-hall; resolved that a letter should be written to the lord general from the parliament, taking notice of his eminent services, with the special acknowledgment and thanks of the house; and moreover referred it to the committee of the army, to consider what medals may

[a] Milton's State Papers, by Nickolls, p. 22. [b] Id. p. 25.

generality, though it could not be acceptable

be prepared both for officers and soldiers that were in this service in Scotland, and set the proportions and values of them, and their number, and present an estimate of them to the house[a]." Nor were these empty compliments: the parliament were fully pleased with Cromwell, and desirous of gratifying him as much as might be. "I never knew," says Sir H. Vane in a letter to the lord general, the day on which the above resolutions were taken, "any thing take a deeper or more kindly impression on the parliament, who in general have good aymes, and are capable of improvement upon such wonderful deliverances as these vouchsafed to them.——Never were your friends to whom you directed your letter more enlarged in heart with thankfulness to God, and in love to you and your army, than from the sense of this late inexpressible deliverance[b]."

Whether the officers and soldiers had the medals given them, proposed in the resolution of the house just mentioned, I know not. Certain it is, a very excellent medal was struck on the victory at Dunbar, on which is Cromwell's head in fine relief, and round it, The word at Dunbar, the Lord of Hosts, Sept. 3, 1650. On the reverse is a representation of the parliament of the commonwealth of England. This was the work of the celebrated Mr. Symons, who had the patronage of Cromwell; and was recommended to the committee of the army, by him, for that purpose, in a letter which will be found in the Appendix.———But to return.—After the battle of Dunbar, all things gave way to the valour of the English general; Edinburgh, Leith, and many other places surrendered to him; and on the 24th of Dec. it was agreed, that the castle of Edinburgh, after a short, but brisk siege, should be delivered up to him, with all the ordinance, arms, magazines, and furniture of war thereunto belonging.——"It may seem strange and almost incredible," says a writer of that time, "that such a strong

[a] Journal, Sept. 10, 1650. [b] Milton's State Papers, by Nickolls, p. 19.

to those from whom it had taken the power

and impregnable hold as was that, should be so easily won, the like whereof is not in that nation; wherefore it was the common vogue of that time, and by many credibly believed, that it was assaulted with silver engines[a]." It does not however appear that Cromwell was wont to make use of these against his foes.——The Scots, in the mean while, were not intimidated by their losses: full of zeal for their king, and hatred of the sectaries, who were now their conquerors, they again raised a very considerable army, and hoped without doubt to be fully avenged on them. For they had friends and well wishers in England, especially the Presbyterians, who were plotting how to advance the young king to the thrones of his fathers. But all was ineffectual. The plots in England were discovered, and some lost their lives on that account; the Scots army cared not to face Cromwell, but chose what appeared to them, the safer game, *viz.* to give him the slip, and march before him into England, where they counted they should meet with aid and assistance. This they put in execution. Charles II. at the head of a good army and gallant officers, attended by many of the chief nobility and gentry of Scotland, set forward the nearest way for England. In Lancashire he was joined by the earl of Derby with others, and after in vain summoning Shrewsbury, he arrived at Worcester, where he determined to abide the coming of Cromwell, who was in full march after him. A few days brought him within view indeed; and on the third of Sept. 1651, he, without ceremony, gave orders to his troops to attack the enemy, and gave them a total overthrow. "This," says Cromwell, "hath been a very glorious mercy, and as stiff a contest for four or five hours, as ever I have seen[b]." So that Clarendon, out of spite to the Scots, has grossly misrepresented their behaviour in this battle, by saying, "That except on the part where

[a] Britannia Triumphalis, p. 67. 12mo. Lond. 1654. [b] See his Letter to the Speaker in the Parliamentary History, vol. XX. p. 44. And Whitlock, p. 507, 508

of tyrannising over their neighbours.—Nor was Middleton was, who was quickly overpowered, there was no resistance made; but such a general consternation possessed the whole army, that the rest of the horse fled, and all the foot threw down their arms before they were charged[a]." What credit can such a prejudiced writer deserve? Mr. Hume, however, has servilely copied this false and ungenerous account of the behaviour of his countrymen[b]. In this battle the king lost 3000 men, besides about 12,000 made prisoners, amongst whom were many of the chief quality. Thus an end for the present was put to the hopes of the Scots king and his party; who from this time was forced to wander abroad (where he would have wandered, had he had no assistance but from the cavaliers, for ever) till the Restoration in 1660.——After this Scotland yielded to the English, and presumed no more to enter the lists, for power and dominion. Indeed she was wholly subdued. How high a sense the parliament had of Cromwell's services, will appear from the instructions given to the commissioners whom they sent to compliment him on this last victory. They are dated Sept. 9, 1651, and are as follows: "You are in the name of the parliament, to congratulate his lordship's good recovery of health, after his dangerous sickness; and to take notice of his unwearied labours and pains in the late expedition into Scotland, for the service of this commonwealth; of his diligence in prosecution of the enemy, when he fled into England; of the great hardships and hazards he hath exposed himself to, and particularly at the late fight at Worcester; of the prudent and faithful managing and conducting throughout this great and important affair, which the Lord from heaven hath so signally blessed, and crowned with so compleat and glorious an issue. Of all which you are to make known to his lordship, the parliament hath thought fit, by you, to certify their good acceptance and great satisfaction

[a] Clarendon, vol. VI. p. 409. [b] History of Great Britain, vol. II. p. 99.

this all——Disputes arising with the Dutch,

therein: and for the same you are to return, in the name of the parliament and commonwealth of England, their most hearty thanks: as also to the rest of the officers and soldiers, for their great and gallant services done to this commonwealth. You are likewise to let his lordship know that since, by the great blessing of God upon his lordship's and the army's endeavours, the enemy is so totally defeated, and the state of affairs, as well in England as in Scotland, such, as may very well dispense with his lordship's continuance in the field; they do desire his lordship, for the better settlement of his health, to take such rest and repose as he shall find most requisite and conducing thereunto: and for that purpose to make his repair to, and residence at or within some few miles of this place, whereby also the parliament may have the assistance of his presence, in the great and important consultations for the further settlement of this commonwealth, which they are now upon[a]." Mr. Whitlock, who was one of the commissioners, tells us, "That they met the general near Aylesbury, delivered their message, and he received them with all kindness and respect: that he gave each of them a horse and two Scots prisoners, as a token of his thankful reception of the parliament's regard in sending them to meet and congratulate him[b]." Cromwell was also met at Acton, by the speaker, the lord president Bradshaw, many members of parliament and the council of state, with the lord mayor, aldermen, and sheriffs; and, entering London in a coach of state, was received with all possible demonstrations of joy. And to crown all, the parliament resolved that lands of inheritance to the yearly value of 4000*l.* belonging to the state, be settled upon the lord general Cromwell and his heirs, as a mark of favour from the parliament for his great and eminent services to the commonwealth[c]. The other officers were

[a] Parliamentary History, p. 48. vol. XX. And Journal, 9th Sept. 1651.
[b] Memorials, p. 509. [c] Parliamentary History, vol. XX. p. 58—59.

a spirit and conduct appeared in the behaviour

not forgotten, but were provided for out of Scotland, which being looked on in some measure as conquered, it was resolved to bring in an act for asserting the right of the commonwealth to so much of Scotland, as was then under the forces of the commonwealth, and to settle it under the government thereof[a].——Such being the actions of Cromwell in Scotland, and at Worcester, we are not to wonder that his panegyrists talked of them in lofty terms, and preferred him to ancient heroes for valour and fortitude. The learned reader, possibly, may be pleased with a specimen of them: "In victoriis tuis tàm multis Olivari, quæ sunt eò nobiliores, quò difficiliores, periculosiores, formidabiliores pugnæ fuêre, celeritatem certè tuam, fortitudinemquè superioribus heroibus omnibus longè clariorem arbitror, quippe quos vel explosi sclopi globulus cum audaciâ suâ prostravisset illicò. Atque ut ingenuè fatear, longè plus æstimo virtute tuâ superatam Cambriam, atque post fractos tàm multos, eosquè Scotorum valentissimos exercitus, à te captum Edenburgum, Sterlinumquè, atque ex consequenti Scotiam universam. In Hibernià verò Tredam vi captam, Hiberniamque redactam; in Angliâ, Scotorum exercitu potentissimo defensam, munitissimamquè tum naturâ loci, tum arte Vigorniam, vi tamen occupatam, plus inquam, ex animi mei sinceritate victorias hasce tuas facio, quàm Cyri, Alexandri, Julii Cæsaris laureas omnes, habità ratione temporis, locorum, hostiumque[b]."—Another speaking of him, said, "Ille est, ille est, auditores admiremini! Cujus unius fortitudo plus biennio profecit, quam centenis seculis majores nostri profuerant, vel forsan nepotes profuturi. Nempe per ultimam Thulen auspiciis obstupescendis volitantia vexilla protulit, & ultra Romanas aquilas, exercituum victrices alas explicuit[c]."——A third describes the battle of Worcester in the following manner: "Ad extremum illud

[a] Journal, 9th Sept. [b] Parallelum Olivæ nec non Olivarii, p. 125.
[c] Oratio Anniversaria in diem Inaugurationis Olivari, per Fisher. fol. Lond 1655.

of the new commonwealth[36], which surprised

& maximum, in quo de summa rei Scoti dimicarunt; prælium venio. Illud inquam Vigornianum, omnibus totius ante actæ ætatis acerrimis comparandum: Nam neque apud Mantineam Thebani cum Lacedemoniis, neque apud Zamam Annibal cum Scipione, neque in Pharsalicis campis Pompejus cum Cæsare, neque apud Mutinam cum Antonio Consules, neque apud Philippos cum Augusto & Antonio Brutus & Cassius acriùs & pertinaciùs dimicarunt[a]." The victory at Worcester, and the respect and applause almost universally attending him, inspired Cromwell, probably, first of all with the desire of dispossessing his masters, and seizing the supreme command. The reasons of this assertion will be found in the note 45.

[36] Disputes arising with the Dutch, a spirit and conduct appeared in the English commonwealth, &c.] From the beginning of the quarrel between Charles and the parliament, the Dutch had acted somewhat partially in his majesty's favour. Arms and ammunition, officers and private soldiers, together with some ships, had been procured from them at different times by the queen and her agents. On complaint of these things from the parliament, by their agent Mr. Strickland, orders were given to put a stop to every thing of this kind, and to observe the most exact neutrality. But among a money-loving people this was but ill observed, and therefore orders were given to the commanders of the English ships, to seize all Dutch ships on which were provisions, stores, ammunition or any other thing belonging to or intended for the enemy: which orders were well obeyed, and caused great complaints in Holland against the parliament, who, however, were not to be moved from their resolution[b]. In the beginning of January, 1643, the States-General sent ambassadors into England, who, though respectfully treated by the parliament, made no

[a] Panegyricus Cromwelli, p. 35. 4to. 1654. [b] See Secrets discovered! or England's Complaint against the States-General. 4to. Lond. 1643.

the nations. The war was commenced and

address to it, but repaired to the king at Oxford, and, after abiding there six weeks, returned to London 14, 1643. They then presented "A paper to each of the speakers of the houses of parliament, with a memorandum to that delivered to the house of peers, in these words: Delivered by the embassadors of the lords estates, unto Mounsier the Baron Grey of Werk, speaker, to be communicated to the lords of the parliament, this 14 day of March, 1643. The other to the speaker of the house of commons, with a memorandum in these words; Delivered by the embassadors of the lords estates, unto Mr. William Lenthall, speaker, to be communicated to the Srs commons of parliament this 14 day of March, 1643." To the matter of these papers, the lords and commons could give no answer, in respect they were not addressed to them in such words, either for the matter or manner, as that they could legally, and according to the course of parliament, take notice of them as directed to themselves. However, that the ambassadors might not plead ignorance concerning the form of address, the parliament were willing that some of their members should repair to them, to acquaint them therewith, who did accordingly, and left the same in writing with them: but this for the present made no alteration in their behaviour. On the 4th of May, 1644, the ambassadors came to the speaker of the house of commons, and by him presented their service to the parliament, protesting their desires to do good; but that they met with no success; and so took their leave for Oxford again. But when they perceived the parliament army to come near to Oxford, where they then were, with the king, they came out with white flags before them, and moved the earl of Essex, for a treaty: his excellency assured them that it belonged only to the parliament to appoint such a treaty. Upon this they returned to Oxford; and from thence they came with their white flags, which were still carried before them all the way as they passed, even into the city of London. Some persons from

carried on in a manner equally honourable to

Oxford came up in their train, obnoxious to the parliament. "After their return hither, about the 19th of June," says the parliament, "they sent messages to the houses, that they had something to deliver from your lordships; [the States of Holland, to whom the declaration from whence I transcribe this is addressed] whereunto, about two or three days after, this answer was sent them; that the houses did expect that they should make their demand of audience in writing, with which if the houses rested satisfied, that they would come to them as to the parliament of England, audience should be given them in each house apart; which they did by their writing dated the 5th of July, whereby they presented their desires as to the lords and commons assembled in the parliament of England, and thereupon had audience given them in each house the 18th day of the same month, with a most honourable and respective reception. At the same time they delivered their letters of credence from your lordships, and offered their interposition and mediation for the composing the differences between his majesty and the parliament, which they left in writing, together with a memorial for reparation of damages sustained by some merchants and masters of ships of the United-provinces, in their ships and course of trading, with desire that commissioners might be appointed for settling the things complained of."——This had the semblance of fair dealing.—But the Dutch ambassadors were far enough from interposing and mediating impartially. For in their letters to their masters they censured the parliament's proceedings, misrepresented their designs, and made applications for peace on terms unsuitable to the safety and welfare of the parliament[a]. With respect to the damages they pretended to have sustained in their ships, it appeared to have been in a good measure redressed by the parliament, though

[a] Declaration of the Parliament of England, written to the high and mighty Lords, the States-General, &c. 4to. Lond. printed for Laurence Blaiklock, 1645.

those who directed and those who executed it.

they were importunately clamorous and troublesome on this head, and at the same time did the ships of the parliament damage to a very considerable amount, without making any satisfaction[a].——I have the more willingly given the account of these matters, because the declarations in which they are contained are very little known, and the memory of the facts like to be lost; the declarations, though some of the finest in the English tongue, in point of composition, being unaccountably omitted in the Parliamentary History, where their importance justly intitled them to a place. But to return—The same inclination to the royal cause was discovered by the Dutch on other occasions. They interposed with regard to the execution of Charles I.; they made compliments of condolence to Charles II. on the murder, as they called it, of his royal father; acknowledged him to be rightful and lawful king of England[b], and afforded him a refuge in their dominions. "The ministers in Holland came likewise in a body to the king, and declared their detestation of the said horrid murder, and the Sunday following preached in most of the churches thereabouts, against the impiety and wickedness thereof: whereby the people there were very much enraged against all that had favoured or assisted any ways the rebels in England; insomuch that Strickland (their agent there) dared not to go out of his lodging, for fear the people would tear him in pieces[c]." This was the temper and disposition of the Dutch, as described by Sir G. Radcliff, in a letter written from the Hague, Feb. 18-28, 1648-9. And it is well known that Dr. Dorislaus, who was sent over thither to act as a joint-agent with Strickland, was assassinated on the second day of May following, and his murderers permitted to escape; though it must be confessed at the same time, that the States-General offered a reward of a 1000 gilders for apprehending the assassins,

[a] A second Declaration of the Lords and Commons of the proceeding with the Ambassadors of the States-General. 4to. Sept. 18, 1645. [b] Ormonde's State Papers, vol. I. p. 223. [c] Id. ibid.

So that considering the valour and wisdom

and declared it death for any to harbour them.——The following extract from Wicquefort, will in a good degree confirm what has been here related.—"The party of the parliament at London was already very considerable, when it sent Walter Strickland to the Hague in the month of September, 1642; but as soon as he had demanded audience, Boswell, who was there on the part of the king of England, opposed it, and represented that the parliament being but a body without a soul, in the absence, and without the king's warrantry, had neither the power to determine any thing within the country, nor the authority to set on foot negotiations out of the kingdom, without the permission of its sovereign. Strickland seeing that the States-General (to whom he had sent his letters of credence) returned him no message, went one day into one of their ante-rooms, and demanded audience. They sent him word by two deputies, that his letter of credence not being yet translated out of English, the States desired him to consider if it might not be proper for him to give in his proposals in writing, that they might be translated at the same time: but he made answer, that he had orders to deliver them by word of mouth, and that if they delayed giving him audience that day, he would take it as a refusal, and would consider what was proper for him to do. This resolution obliged the States to send him a deputy of each province, to whom he laid open his commission, and left with them his proposals in writing; however he had no public audience, notwithstanding the deputies of the province of Holland asked it with as much warmth as himself. The States-General came to some resolutions upon his memorial, and assured him they would always observe an exact neutrality between the king and the parliament. An expression that gives to understand, that the States acknowledged that there were two parties formed in England, and that, for particular reasons, (which cannot be unknown) they had more consideration for the one than the other. They gave sufficient testimony

exerted, and the success which attended the

thereof the second voyage the same Strickland made to the Hague, immediately after the death of the late king, which had not removed the difficulties of his admission. Dorislaus, his colleague, had been murthered there; so that Strickland, not thinking himself safe, made pressing instances to be admitted, and dispatched. The deputies of Holland seconded his instances, and continually represented, that audience could not be refused him without breaking the neutrality, which the States had promised to preserve inviolable. But all these good offices were of no use, for the deputies of the six other provinces declared, they could come to no resolution in an affair of this nature without the express order of their principals, who did not explain themselves upon the matter: insomuch that Strickland (who was in continual uneasiness on the account of the accident which had happened to Dorislaus) seeing the obstinacy of the six provinces, backed by the authority of the prince of Orange, was invincible, went back to England. This proceeding of theirs was the more surprizing, because the States had an ambassador with the same parliament, whose minister they treated so unworthily, and which not wanting the means to resent it, soon revenged itself so cruelly, that there was all the reason in the world to repent of the little regard had been shewn to a power, which made a great part of Europe tremble[a]."

The parliament, to whom the temper and conduct of the Dutch were not unknown, determined, if possible, to alter their disposition, and bring them into an union with themselves. For this end it was reported by the lord viscount Lisle from the council of state, as the opinion of that council, "That as the state of affairs now stands, a public minister be sent from the parliament to the present assembly of the United Provinces. And it being resolved by the parliament that a public minister be sent thither, it was referred

[a] Wicquefort's Embassador and his Functions, p. 7. fol. Lond. 1716.

commonwealth in this war, as well as in the re-

to the council of state to consider of such persons as they should think fit to be sent from the parliament, and to prepare instructions, commissions, and letters of credence for them[a]." In pursuance of this order, the council of state presented the lord chief-justice St. John, and Walter Strickland, Esq. to be sent as ambassadors extraordinary to the United Provinces, who being approved of by the parliament, had their commission, instructions and letters of credence delivered to them by Mr. Speaker, in the house, by the command of the parliament[b]. "And to prevent such another attempt as had been made upon our former agent, forty gentlemen were appointed to attend him [St. John] for his security and honour, ten thousand pounds being delivered to the lord ambassadors steward, for the expence of the embassy. Yet this great equipage was not sufficient to prevent a public affront which was offered him by prince Edward, one of the Palatine family, as he was passing the streets[c]." The ambassadors arrived at Rotterdam, March 14, 1651, N. S. On the 20th, they were admitted to an audience in the assembly of the States-General at the Hague, where St. John, in a very handsome speech, after having mentioned the ancient alliances between the two nations, and the mutual benefit resulting from thence, declared "That the parliament did desire that this pious and strict confederacy and league of amity, derived from their ancestors unto them, may from themselves be transmitted unto posterity, *if God so please:* and such, said he, is the sincere love and good will which the commonwealth of England beareth unto their neighbours of the United-Provinces, begotten and conserved upon the grounds before expressed, that they are willing to enter into a more intimate alliance and nearer union with them than formerly hath been, whereby a more real and intrinsical interest of each in other, may be contracted for their mutual good.——My

[a] Journal, 21 Jan. 1650. [b] Id. Feb. 25, 1650. [c] Ludlow, vol. I. p. 374

duction of Scilly, Jersey, Guernsey, Man,

lords, you see the commonwealth of England (notwithstanding the many discouragements they have found, and just cause given them of laying aside the thought of any further motion of this kind) have begun to you, and in matters of highest concernment unto both; led thereunto, (such is the mercy of God) not out of necessity but choice. This their good-will deserves all acceptation on your part, with whom it now rests, and will, they doubt not, produce resolutions answerable and timely; and whatsoever issue it shall please God in his wisdom to give, they shall always have the satisfaction of having done what befitted them, and what the welfare of the true reformed religion, and the other great and common interests of both states obliged them to do[a]."——The English ambassadors on the 10th of May following proposed to the States-General that the two commonwealths might be confederated friends, joined and allied together for the defence and preservation of the liberties and freedom of the people of each, against all whomsoever that shall attempt the disturbance of either state by sea or land; or be declared enemies to the freedom and liberties of the people living under either of the said governments[b]. In short, they proposed an intire union and coalition. One article in their proposals is too remarkable to be omitted.—"We propound," say they, "that no rebel or declared enemy of the commonwealth of England, shall be received into or be suffered to abide in any of the castles, towns, ports, creeks, or other places priviledged or not priviledged, which the prince of Orange, princess Mary, the relict of William late prince of Orange, or any other person of what degree soever, have or hereafter shall have or possess by any title whatsoever within the dominions and jurisdictions of the United-Provinces, nor suffered by the said prince, princess, or any other person, to be received into or abide therein; neither shall the lords states of the

[a] Parliamentary History, vol. XIX. p. 469, 470. [b] Thurloe, vol. I. p. 182.

Virginia and Barbadoes; considering, I say,

United-Provinces, permit or suffer in any of the places aforesaid, any assistance, counsel or favour, in ships, men, money, victuals, or in any other manner to be given, by the said prince or princess, or any other person, to any such rebel or declared enemy, but shall openly and expresly prohibit and hinder the same. And if the prince of Orange and princess Mary, or any other person or persons living or remaining in the jurisdiction of the United-Provinces, or under their power, do to the contrary hereof, then as well the said prince and princess, and all and every such other person and persons so doing as aforesaid, shall, for their respective lives, forfeit and lose all such castles, towns, villages, lands, and other places, which they or any of them shall at such time have or pretend to have by any title whatsoever; and likewise that no rebels or declared enemy of the States of the United-Provinces shall be received into, or be suffered in any of the castles, towns, ports, or other places, priviledged or not priviledged, which any person or persons, of what degree or quality soever he be, have or shall hold or possess within the commonwealth of England or dominion thereof, by any title whatsoever, nor suffered by any such person or persons, or any other, to be received thereinto, or abide therein, under like penalties[a]." The States General did not seem at all desirous of this coalition, though they refused not to treat thereon: but while the negotiation was on foot, St. John receiving the affront above-mentioned, complained thereof to the States more than once, and assured them that the parliament expected reparation. The ambassadors also protested in the name of the commonwealth of England, against the States styling the late king, Charles I. "Which implies," said they, "that there is a second Charles king of England."

In this spirited manner, agreeably to their instructions, did these gentlemen behave, and so little were they dispos'd

[a] Thurloe, vol. I. p. 152. And Journal, ... th Sp. fol.].

the conquests made both at home and abroad,

to have the sovereignty of their masters attacked, even in the most distant manner. But though the ambassadors were extremely diligent, nothing to the purpose was to be done with the Dutch, as appears by the following extract of a letter from Mr. Thurloe to Mr. Walter Frost, secretary to the council of state; dated Hague, June 6-16, 1651. "If we had not by a good providence of God got ane opportunity to put this people to a tryal by our being continued here, they might by their last paper, wherein they offerred the treaty of 1495, and their large professions, past with the credulous people of England for some kind of honest men, and good neighbours; but upon this occasion, I am confident they appear to be perfectly of the Scots mould, by converse with whom and the French, they have learnt the art of making huge professions, and in such a manner, that men are almost necessitated to believe them; and at the same time, intend to perform no more of them than apparently stands with their own advantage; which yet I am confident they will not arrive at upon this occasion; and I hope God will give wisdom to my lords so to manage their farewell in that manner, that the commonwealth of England shall not lose either in honour or interest upon this occasion[a]."——The day fixed the second time (for the first had been expired, and a farther day given at the request of the States) being near at hand, the ambassadors gave notice of their intended departure to the States, expressing their sorrow for the unsuccessfulness of their negotiation, and their hopes that hereafter a treaty might be concluded. Whereupon the States-General in a declaration justified their proceedings; entreated the stay of the ambassadors; and professed their readiness to contribute their best endeavours to perfect the treaty. This of course produced a recapitulation, in which, after shewing how unsatisfactory the answers to their propositions had been, the

[a] Thurloe, vol. I. p. 186.

and the attention paid to the grandeur and

ambassadors concluded in the following manner: "As to their dissatisfaction concerning our coming away, we conceived, that we had said enough therein to their commissioners, whom they had sent twice to us about the same; as that the parliament had now thrice sent their agents and ministers unto them; and that as they were no way bound to send them unto them at all, so was it in their own choice and power to limit the time of their abode. Neither were they therein surprized, we having always from the first day of the treaty told them, that our time was limited and but short; and that therefore a slow proceeding on their part would render the treaty fruitless; and that they had cause rather to take it as a great expression of love and friendship in the parliament, that they alone had so often and for so long time intended and prosecuted these matters of joint and equal concernment unto both states; and that when the commonwealth of England is out of possession of what they ought to enjoy by the treaty of 1495, and the Netherlands in the full possession of what is of greatest advantage unto them by that treaty; that yet the commonwealth of England should be content in this friendly and amicable way of a treaty, to seek and expect from them a performance of what is done on their parts[a]."——When the States' commissioners came to take leave of the ambassadors at their departure, it is said St. John spoke to them in these terms: "My lords, you have an eye upon the event of the affairs of the kingdom of Scotland, and therefore do refuse the friendship we have offered. Now I can assure you, that many in the parliament were of opinion that we should not have come hither, or any ambassadors to be sent to you before they had superated these matters between them and that king, and then expected your ambassadors to us. I now perceive our error, and that these gentlemen were in the right: in a short time you shall see that business ended,

[a] Thurloe, vol. I. p. 195.

welfare of the nation in all these transactions,

and then you will come to us and seek what we have freely offerred, when it shall perplex you that you have refused our proffer[a]."——On the return of the ambassadors, they, by order, attended the house, and sitting in their places as members, "St. John, the lord ambassador Strickland standing by him, gave an account of their negotiation; and it was resolved that the parliament doth approve of all the proceedings of the lords ambassadors, and that they have the thanks of the house, for their great and faithful service." The proceedings in this treaty were also ordered to be entered in a book by themselves, and all persons prohibited from inspecting the same (except members of parliament) without leave. And the whole matter of the report, and the several papers, were referred to the council of state to consider what was fit to be done therein, for the best advantage of the commonwealth, and to report the same to the house[b].—On the 9th of October, the house passed the famous act intitled by them, "Goods from foreign parts by whom to be imported:" prohibiting goods to be imported, from Asia, Africa, America, and even Europe, with some few exceptions, into England, Ireland or the dominions thereunto belonging, but in English vessels. This was the famous navigation act, of which more shall be spoken hereafter. The states being highly provoked hereat, sent over ambassadors to mitigate if possible the rigour of this law, and bring things to an accommodation. Commissioners hereupon were empowered by the parliament to hear their proposals, and make proper demands on the behalf of the commonwealth. For demands they had about the Amboyna business; the fishery; the right of the flag; and other matters in which the interest and dignity of the English nation were concerned. But while the negotiation was carried on, in May 1652, the fleets of the two republics being near each other an engagement ensued, to the ad-

[a] Heath's Chronicle of the Civil Wars, p. 287. Folio, Lond. 1676. [b] Journal, 2d July, 1651.

we are not to wonder that men imputed to them

vantage of the English, who sunk one Dutch ship and took another[a]. The Dutch ambassadors, alarmed at this encounter, which had turned out so unexpectedly to their disgrace, put in several papers to the council of state, "Protesting that what happened was without the knowledge and against the wills of their masters; that 'twas with grief and astonishment they had heard the fatal news of that rash action; that they were greatly desirous of concluding things in an amicable manner, and therefore requested that by no means the business of the concluding of the treaty be put off, and that such unfortunate mischances may be avoided, and an everlasting peace established between both the nations." But little heed was given to these requests or apologies. By admiral Blake's relation; by the information of two Dutch captains, prisoners, taken before general Cromwell, and Dennis Bond, Esq. at Dover, May 22, 1652; and from several other examinations taken at that time, before the same gentlemen, it appearing that the Dutch sought an opportunity to quarrel, and to brave us upon our own coast, the parliament returned the following answer to the papers of their ambassadors.——"The parliament of the commonwealth of England, calling to mind with what continued demonstrations of friendship, and sincere affections, from the very beginning of their intestine troubles they have proceeded towards their neighbours of the United-Provinces, omitting nothing on their part that might con-

[a] The Dutch account, as given in Burchett, is as follows: "Van Tromp put to sea with the fleet, to convoy home some merchant ships, but had orders to avoid engaging with the English, if possible, and to pay the usual respect to their flag, if he chanced to meet them in the narrow seas. He was forced by a tempest on the English coast, but quitted it again as soon as possible, and made towards Calais; but being informed that the English were pursuing some merchant ships, he advanced to their relief, and met Blake with the English fleet, who had orders (the Dutch say) to attack them. Tromp prepared to give the usual honours to the English flag, and ordered one of his captains to go on board with a compliment to the English admiral; but Blake having no regard to these marks of submission, fired twice at Tromp's ship, who made no return till he had received a third shot, and then the fight began."——Naval History, p. 293.

duce to a good correspondence with them, and to a growing up into a more near and strict union than formerly, do find themselves much surprized with the unsutable returns that have been made thereunto, and especially at the acts of hostility lately committed in the very roads of England upon the fleet of this commonwealth, the matter of fact whereof stated in clear proofs, is hereunto annexed; [they are Blake's letter, and depositions just above mentioned] upon serious and deliberate consideration of all, and of the several papers delivered in by your excellencies to the councel of state, the parliament thinks fit to give this answer to those papers: The parliament, as they would be willing to make a charitable construction of the expressions used in the said papers, endeavouring to represent the late engagement of the fleets to have happened without the knowledge, and against the mind of your superiours; so when they consider how disagreeable to that profession the resolutions and actions of your state and their ministers at sea have been, even in the midst of a treaty offerred by themselves, and managed here by your excellencies, the extraordinary preparations of one hundred and fifty sail of men of war, without any visible occasion but what doth now appear (a just ground of jealousie in your own judgments, when your lordships pretended to excuse it) and the instructions themselves given by your said superiours to their commanders at sea, do find too much cause to believe that the lords, the states general of the United-Provinces, have an intention, by force to usurp the known rights of England in the seas, to destroy the fleets that are, under God, their walls and bulwarks, and thereby expose this commonwealth to invasion at their pleasure, as by this late action they have attempted to do: whereupon the parliament conceive they are obliged to endeavour, with God's assistance, as they shall have opportunity, to seek reparation of the wrongs already suffered, and security that the like be not attempted for the future. Nevertheless, with this mind and desire, that all differences betwixt the nations may (if possibly) be peaceably and friendly composed, as

God by his providence shall open a way thereunto, and circumstances shall be conducing to render such endeavours less dilatory, and more effectual than those of this kind heretofore used have been.

HEN. SCOBELL, *cleric. Parliamenti*[a]."

This declaration does honour to the parliament, who had ordered all Dutch ships to be seized on hearing of the late action at sea, and from henceforth determined to carry on a war with the states in the most vigorous manner. Sir Henry Vane, who made so great a figure during these times, is said to have been the chief director and manager of this war, whose constant judgment it was, "That the interest of England and the United-Provinces were as irreconcileable as those of rivals, trade being to both nations, what a mistress is unto lovers; that there never could intervene any durable peace, except both nations did unite by coalition, or the English subjugate the others and reduce them into a province, or by strict conditions and contrivances ensure themselves against the growth and future puissance of the Dutch[b]." How great the disinterestedness of Vane was, how solicitous for the honour of the nation, and how much bent that the public might be served on the easiest and best terms, appears from the following anecdote: "The fees of his office were; as treasurer of the navy, four-pence in the pound, which by reason of this war honestly amounted to little less than 30,000*l. per annum*; but Sir Henry Vane looked upon it as too much for a private subject, and therefore very generously gave up his patent (which he had for life from king Charles I.) to the parliament, desiring but two thousand pounds *per annum*, for an agent he had bred up to the business, and the remainder to go to the public. This was done, and the method of a fixed salary has continued ever since in that office[c]." This was indeed

[a] The Answer of the Parliament to three Papers delivered by the Ambassadors of the United-Provinces, Lond. printed for John Field. 4to. 1652. [b] Stubbs's Further Justification of the War with the United-Netherlands, p. 119. 4to. Lond. 1672. [c] Collins's Peerage, vol. V. p. 303. 8vo. Lond. 1756.——In the Journals we find "That upon a petition of Sir Henry Vane, knight, treasurer of the

a rare example of honour and integrity, and hardly to be believed in this age, in which patriots and courtiers have scrambled for places, preferments, bonusses, &c. in such an open and shameless manner, as to have rendered it doubtful whether all pretensions to public spirit, were not veils to ambition and avarice.———But to proceed.——Fleets were now fitted out, both by England and Holland, and such noble exploits were done by Blake and others, as have rendered their memories dear to all true lovers of their country. The particulars are to be found in most of our common histories, and thither I must refer the reader desirous of information on this subject. Whilst the war was carrying on in a manner glorious to the English commonwealth, the parliament omitted nothing which might make it terminate in such a manner as to prevent all future disputes between the two nations. With great diligence and dexterity they got intelligence of the most private designs and resolutions of the enemy, and took as much care as possible to conceal their own; nor would they abate the least in their proposals for peace, though applied to most submissively by ambassadors sent from the states for that purpose. The following extracts will abundantly con-

the navy, it was referred to the committee of the navy, to consider of this petition, and how the office of treasurer of the navy may be managed for the future, for the best profit and least charge of the commonwealth; and what salary is fit to be allowed for the execution thereof; and also to consider what compensation is fit to be given unto the petitioner, out of that office, or otherwise, in consideration of his right in the said office." This was on the 27th of June, 1650. On the 16th of July following, the committee made their report, and the house resolved, "That as a fit compensation to be given to Sir Henry Vane, treasurer of the navy, for the surrender of his right in the said place, and in consideration of the profit which will thereby accrue to the state, there be settled on the said Sir Henry Vane, his heirs and assigns for ever, to the clear yearly value of twelve hundred pounds per annum over and above all charges and reprises, out of the lands belonging to the late deans and chapters."——It was also resolved, "That a fit and able person should be appointed treasurer of the navy, who should personally attend upon that employment, and be allowed for the entertainment and salary, for himself, his deputies and clerks, one thousand pounds per annum, in lieu of all salaries, fees, and other profits formerly belonging to the place of treasurer of the navy."——We see by this, Mr. Collins has not been sufficiently exact.

firm and explain what is here mentioned.——The Dutch ambassadors, in a letter to N. Ruysch, dated Westminster, July 4, 1653, N. S. say, "We are obliged to advise their high and mighty lordships that men here have full knowledge, with all the circumstances of the resolutions taken upon the fifth of June[a]." In a letter of intelligence from the Hague, dated the 28th of the same month, we read what follows: "What I have always feared is now come to pass, that intimation should be given here of the good intelligence you have there of the affairs here. Our deputies there have written hither to these states, that they have assurance from their friends in England, that all the secret actings here, and were it possible, the very thoughts of these states are most exactly and weekly presented in writing to the council of state there. This was hotly debated in the assembly, every one asking the other, who betrayed them; and some quarrels were like to arise, but a sort of composure was made, and orders given for strict secrecy in all their proceedings; so that much difficulty will be in furnishing you; however I shall attempt always to serve you as long as I can. But if you have not secresy, you are not worthy of the profit thereof. Our deputies there begin to give very good intelligence from London, however they get it[b]." The 18th of this month, we find the following short letter written by Beverning, one of the ambassadors, to Mr. Gerard Cinque at Goude. "Sir, I dare not write much news. All our actions are spied. We have spies set to watch us in our houses. We cannot be certain of any thing that we do, that it shall not be either known or miscarry. If you please to have any thing sent you from hence, that this country affords, pray let me know it[c]."—— We are not however to suppose but some intelligence was gotten by these ambassadors. Money does wonders, and flattery is all powerful. They who can dexterously apply the one and the other, need not fear of some success. The following passage will shew that they were ordered to be on the look out, and that they had not been idle. It was

[a] Thurloe, vol. I. p. 316. [b] Id. p. 359. [c] Id. p. 339.

written from the Hague, October 31. N.S. and seems to come from the same hand which sent that of the 28th of July just mentioned.

" Since my last to you, the post immediately before this, great diligence is used and secret enquiry made, how your council of state comes by the secret resolutions of this state, and the letters of their public ministers abroad; and our deputies who are gone to England have in charge to do their utmost there, whatever it costs to find it out. Of which I advertize you very seriously, to the end hereafter these secrets be not read in open council, and that prevention may be, least the deputies might learn, from them, that told to them part, how to discover the whole. But I hope and believe I am not betrayed, so as to be known by name or description to any of the council, since some of them are so kind as to tell all they know to the Dutch deputies, to their advantage. I can swear the two deputies standing there did write at full, what I gave you in my last; but this notwithstanding, all the chief of their business shall be had one way or other, if you do not spoil all there, as well was attempted[a]."——And how much the parliament were concerned for the honour and interest of the nation appeared from their demanding as preliminaries to a treaty, that the Dutch should call back their ships; make reparation for damages, and satisfaction for the expences England had been put to defend herself and maintain her rights[b]."——Among the articles insisted on by the English was the following. " That the ships and vessels of the said United-Provinces, as well men of war, as others, be they single ships, or in fleets, meeting at sea with any of the ships of war of this state of England, or in their service and wearing the flag, shall strike the flag, and lower their topsail until they be passed by, and shall likewise submit themselves to be visited if thereto required, and perform all other respects due to the said commonwealth of England, to whom the dominion and sovereignty of the British seas

[a] Thurloe, vol. I. p. 549. [b] Id. p. 291.

belong." To this article, the Dutch ambassadors, November 22, 1653. did not make any exception, either to the striking of the flag, or the sovereignty of the sea; but they protested against the visiting their ships, as repugnant to the practice of their country, and subject to a thousand disorders and disputes, and injuries to their state; besides the visiting is not to be reciprocal. Whereupon Cromwell in the name of the commissioners replied, that the searching of their ships was no new thing; but an undoubted right which naturally followed from the sovereignty of the sea, the which did appertain to England: it was likewise an efflux of the same dominion, for the English to prescribe to them, with what number of ships of war they should pass the British seas: that they ought to be much more zealous now for the asserting of the said antient dominion of the sea in all its branches; because it had been so lately and so notoriously disputed and invaded. And whereas the ambassadors had somewhat boastingly said in their memorial, that their people were of such generosity that they would never endure such terms: to this Cromwell said he would reply no more, than that we were Englishmen, and had not lost our courage[a]." The parliament insisted likewise that the Dutch should pay for licence to fish upon the British coasts, and suspended the treaty, on account of their unwillingness to agree thereunto, though it is asserted they offered 300,000*l.* to procure amity and friendship with England[b]. These demands of the parliament may seem high, but they endeavoured to justify themselves to the world, by causing Selden's "Mare Clausum seu de Dominio Maris" to be translated into English, by Marchamont Nedham. This, by special command, was published in November 1652. In a fine and spirited dedication "to the supreme authority of the nation, the parliament of the commonwealth of England," the translator observes, "it is a gallant sight to see the sword and pen in victorious equipage together; for this subdues the souls of men by reason,

[a] Scobbs's Further Justification, p. 59, 60. [b] Id. p. 65.

the greatest designs, and such as would carry that only their bodies by force. The pen it is which manifests the right of things; and, when that is once cleared, it gives spurs to resolution, because men are never raised to so high a pitch of action, as when they are persuaded, that they engage in a righteous cause; according to that old versicle,

" Frangit & attollit vires in milite causa.

" Wherefore, seeing you (right honourable) have had so frequent experience of the truth of this in our late wars, wherein the pen militant hath had as many sharp rencounters as the sword, and borne away as many trophies from home-bred enemies, in prosecution of your most righteous cause by land, certainly you will yield it no less necessary, for the instruction of this generous and ingenious people, in vindicating your just rights by sea against the vain pretences and projects of encroaching neighbours. For, what true English heart will not swell, when it shall be made clear and evident (as in this book) that the sovereignty of the seas, flowing about this island, hath, in all times, whereof there remains any written testimony, both before the old Roman invasion and since, under every revolution, down to the present age, been held and acknowledged by all the world, as an inseparable appendant of the British empire; and that, by virtue thereof, the kings of England successively have had the sovereign guard of the seas; that they have imposed taxes and tributes upon all ships passing and fishing therein; that they have obstructed and opened the passage thereof to strangers, at their own pleasure, and done all other things that may testify an absolute sea-dominion; what English heart (I say) can consider these things, together with the late actings of the Netherlanders, set forth in your publick declaration, and not be inflamed with an indignation answerable to their insolence; that these people, raised out of the dust at first into a state of liberty, and at length to a high degree of power and felicity,

them to the pinnacle of glory [37].—And, if we turn

by the arms and benevolence of England; or that they, who, in times past, durst never enter our seas to touch a herring, without licence first obtained by petition from the governor of Scarborough-Castle, should now presume to invade them with armed fleets, and, by a most unjust war, bid defiance to the united powers of these three nations[a]?"——But, whilst the parliament were thus labouring for the public welfare, they were dispossessed of their power by Cromwell, and deprived of a glory they well deserved, that of finishing a successful, well-conducted war, by a safe and advantageous peace.

[37] Vast designs were imputed to the commonwealth.] Nothing can give us a better idea of the light in which England was viewed abroad, than the following passages from Sorbiere. They are taken from a letter written by him to the celebrated M. de Courcelles, at Amsterdam, dated Orange, July 1, 1652.——"The English republicans took things exactly right; and that, in order to the accomplishing of a design, that would take up all their life-time (for such sort of men ought never to conceive mean ones, after the execution whereof they must be put to the trouble of projecting a new, or live lazily, and be exposed to conspiracies against them) they thought it would be their best way to begin with the ruin of the United Provinces, which lay next their coasts, and flourished in trade above any other country in the world; and, when once they had effected this, they were in hopes they should easily remove any obstacle in their way to attain the dominion of the seas: insomuch, that, if the fortune of war should favour their first enterprizes, I do not think they have any design to make a peace with a nation they have a mind utterly to destroy, and to whom they will propose such hard terms, that, upon the refusal of them, you will, at last, find them prepared to

[a] Of the Dominion or Ownership of the Sea. Folio, London: Printed by William Du-Gard, by the appointment of the Council of State

our eyes to their conduct at home, we shall find it

make terrible descents in divers parts of Zealand, and North Holland, to break the banks, and the other dykes, that keep the flat country from being drowned. There needs no more than this sort of blood letting to make Amsterdam, and all the other cities, desolate. For, it would signify little to them to seize the Brill, or some other place, seeing their design is to destroy the trade of Holland, and to transfer it into their own country; and it would be of little importance to them, that the king of Spain should, in the mean time, recover the seven provinces; that the merchants of Amsterdam should remove to Antwerp, and the manufactures of Leyden and Harlem to Ghent and Bruges: for it would require many years to settle things there, and the English would have opportunity enough to hinder them from having any necessary materials, but such as passed through their own hands, and their manufactures to be transported any where but in English bottoms: for it would be very easy for them to stop up the mouths of the ports, and to go up the Schelde, even in sight of Antwerp, from whence nothing must come out but will be taken by their ships. By this means, and the notion I have of their designs, no nation in the world, in a few years time, would have any seamen, ships, or skill in maritime affairs, besides themselves: for Holland being entirely ruined, the Dutch must serve on board their fleets, and all the ship-wrights, sail-makers and rope-makers, would be obliged to go and earn their living in the sea-port towns of England; and this they would be the more inclined to do, because there is more wages given there, and people live better. When this noble and rich province, which, within the extent of less than five and twenty leagues, contains eighteen large towns, and four hundred villages, of which the Hague is the finest in the world, shall be reduced to this sad plight; it's then likely the English will turn their arms against Denmark, in order to seize the Sundt, either by main force, or rather some treaty, by which they will be willing to give the king more than the profit it brought him,

equally admirable. By deeds of peace they at-

but, at the same time, will oblige Norway to sell their wood to no other nation but the English. The cities of Embden, Bremen, Hamburgh, Lubec, all the coast of the Baltic, and the whole kingdom of Sweden, durst appear no longer at sea, but under English colours; and, perhaps, the formidable republic will be content, in consideration of her commissions granted to them, to receive certain duties from the goods she allows them in her name to transport, only along these northern parts. They will in time send a more powerful fleet to block up the river of Lisbon, while another sails to Brasil, Guinea, and the East-Indies, with a design to spare the Portugueze merchants, and the East India companies, the labour of transporting the sugars, silks, spices, and other commodities, they come thither for, into Europe: and if Spain pretends to say any thing against them, they will, without any more ado, seize the Streights mouth, and send an hundred and fifty ships of war into the Mediterranean, out of which they can very easily drive the naval force of the other potentates of Europe, were they all joined together against them. The English having in this manner usurped the dominion of the seas, the trade of all the European nations, and part of the rest of the world: all the earth must submit to them, work for nobody but them, and they'll, from time to time, come into their ports, and sweep away all their treasure: every thing that is rare, and all the conveniences of life, produced either by art or nature, will be reserved for England, which will be the only country that can purchase them, or possess them of their own. For, as we see, that since the settling of trade in Holland, that province is become the store-house for linnen, woollen, and all sorts of manufactures; though there is neither flax, wool, nor, in a manner, any other commodities which they work up, grows there, but they must fetch them from other countries; so every thing that England wants at this time will abound there, and the best artificers will flock thither; in so much, that, if they would have any fine linnen, or good

tempted to settle and perpetuate the felicity

cloth for wear, in another country, the flax and wool was to be sent to be manufactured in England. Pray, consider then, what vast wealth this country must acquire in less than fifty years? and how miserable must the rest of Europe be, since they can transport nothing by sea, from one nation to another, but in English ships? They will always have money to receive in all the ports they come at, and never leave any of their own there: what the English want they'll make compensation for, by way of exchange, or readily send over into England upon the score of the manufactures there they have occasion for; as we have seen the Dutch East-India company have pearl and precious stones, in return for some wares sent into those countries, which they got fitted up at Amsterdam, and then sold them at a very dear rate in those places whence they were first brought, and where there is not that perfection of workmanship as there is with us. Hundreds of ships richly laden will daily put into the Thames, and other ports of this fortunate island; and the general can scarce ever lose the sight of his forces, which, I may say, return every evening to lie at home; for they stay no longer in foreign parts than to refresh themselves, to vend their goods, and to take in new cargoes. They will be no way sollicitous of making conquests by land, that they may save the charge of maintaining them, seeing they are sure of reaping the profits of them; neither will they plant any colonies, and ease their country, as populous as 'tis grown, of the vast multitudes that are in it, because the produce of all Europe is consumed there, and their great naval trade renders their stores inexhaustible. In the mean time, all the neighbouring kingdoms will, in a manner, become like the sea coasts of America, where our Europeans trade: there will be only tillage and some coarse manufactures for plain wear, and to serve people's necessities only in the heart of the country, and the maritime towns will be no other than the granaries and magazines of England. These are my sentiments about this war, which, in

and grandeur of the state. After the British

the opinion of some, may seem romantic, and of kin to Utopia, or the Republic of Plato; especially of those who do not consider that the wars that have been waged for twenty years past, I know not under what pretences or designs, had nothing so great or sublime in them as that which Cromwell proposes: for, in reality, there is nothing can come up to the thoughts of subjecting all the earth to his country, and rendering it the most haughty and flourishing state in the world. It appears to me so vast and magnificent a thought, that there is nothing in all the conquests of Alexander, and the pomp of all the Roman empire, that comes near this maritime dominion, which I have represented to you. And it seems to me so very feasible, that, if Holland be once ruined, I am afraid it will be too late to prevent it: and, therefore, I would have all the potentates of Europe take it to heart in time; for, if they do not quickly put an end to the war they are engaged in on the continent, we shall run the risk, in a few ages, of becoming perfect barbarians. For the English, by means of their navigation, will transfer all the politeness of Europe, together with its plenty, power, and conveniences of life, into their own country[a]."——I have chose to give Sorbiere's opinion at length, not only as it shews us the sense men then had of the designs, skill, and management of this new republic, but as it likewise instructs us in the vast advantages of navigation and commerce to a state. For nothing is more certain, than that they, who can acquire the trade of the world, will soon possess its power, riches commanding every thing requisite thereunto, if in the hands of the wise, brave and industrious. Such being the figure of the English commonwealth in the eyes of its neighbours, we are not to wonder that her friendship was courted by some of the most mighty monarchs, and that they treated her with honour and respect. Spain, France, Portugal addressed themselves

[a] Sorbiere's Voyage into England, p. 184—189. 8vo. Lond. 1709.

dominions were brought wholly to submit to their sovereignty, they passed an act of [38] obli-

to her by their agents and ambassadors, as did Denmark, Sweden, the free cities of Germany, and Holland, particularly, in a most suppliant manner. For reputation is power, and power is ever attended with deference and regard. I will close this note with the following extract from another foreign writer: "The new republic, actuated by Cromwell's extensive and sublime genius, procured England a tranquillity which it no longer hoped for, and gave it a lustre which it had not had for several centuries. It had just been agitated by a most violent tempest, and now all was calm; it had thought itself on the brink of ruin, and was now in condition to give law. It is melancholy, for the honour of virtue, that one of the best and greatest spectacles, which the annals of nations present, should be the work of rebellion. Every thing appeared wonderful in this revolution. The royalists conformed to a kind of government ill adapted to their tempers, and disapproved by their consciences. The grandees, accustomed to the part of legislators, remained quietly in the rank of private subjects. The Irish and Scots, who had taken up arms, the first from an attachment to their kings, the other to efface the horror of their treachery, were unhappily subdued. The Dutch, who had taken advantage of the calamities of England, to usurp the empire of the seas, were humbled. France and Spain, who had been always rivals, always enemies, meanly courted the friendship of the usurpers. The sovereigns, who ought to have united to revenge an outrage, to which all kings were exposed, either through fear or interest, applauded the injustice. All Europe debased itself, was silent, or admired[a]."

[38] They passed an act of oblivion.] On the twenty-fourth

[a] Abbe Raynal's History of the Parliament of England, p. 200. 8vo. Lond. 1751. See also the quotations from Sidney and Trenchard, at the end of note 14.

vion, to quiet the minds of their subjects, as

of February, one thousand six hundred and fifty-one, the government passed an act, intitled, "A general pardon and amnestie." The preamble deserves notice, and is as follows: "The parliament of England, having had good experience of the affection of the people to this present government, by their ready assistance in the defence thereof against Charles Stuart, son of the late tyrant, and the forces lately invading under his command; and being much afflicted with the sense of the miserable and sad effects which the late unnatural war hath produced; and resolving, next to the glory of God, and the advancement of the kingdom of Jesus Christ, to make no other use of the many victories the Lord, in mercy, hath vouchsafed unto them, than a just settling of the peace and freedom of this commonwealth; and being most desirous that the minds, persons and estates of all the people of this nation might be composed, settled and secured, and that all rancour and evil will, occasioned by the late differences, may be buried in perpetual oblivion, that so the government, now established in the way of a free state, might be complied with, and all the members of it enjoy their just and ancient rights and liberties, and the former commotions and troubles end in a quiet, calm and comfortable peace, have resolved to do what in them lies for the obtaining and effecting thereof, leaving the success and their endeavours unto the blessing of God, and his working upon the spirits of those that are concerned herein: Be it therefore enacted[a]," &c. Mr. Ludlow attributes the passing this act at that time to the ambitious views of Cromwell in part, and his desire of ingratiating himself with new friends; "the parliament," says he, "were prevailed with by the importunities of some of their own members, and in particular of general Cromwell, that so he might fortify himself by the addition of new friends, for the carrying on his designs, to pass an act of general pardon and amnesty·

[a] Scobel's Collections

whereby, though it had thirty-eight several exceptions, many persons, who deserved to pay towards the reimbursement of the publick, no less than those that had been already fined, escaped the punishment due to their misdemeanors, and the commonwealth was defrauded of great sums of money, by which means they were rendered unable to discharge many just debts owing to such as had served them with diligence and fidelity[a]. In another place, speaking of the general's visible change of temper and behaviour after the battle of Worcester, he says, "He now began to despise divers members of the house, whom he had formerly courted, and grew most familiar with those whom he used to shew most aversion to; endeavouring to oblige the royal party, by procuring for them more favourable conditions than consisted with the justice of the parliament to grant, under colour of quieting the spirits of many people, and keeping them from engaging in new disturbances to rescue themselves out of those fears which many who had acted for the king, yet lay under; tho', at the same time, he designed nothing, as, by the success, was most manifest, but to advance himself by all manner of means, and to betray the great trust which the parliament and the good people of England had reposed in him. To this end he pressed the act of oblivion[b]." That the passing an act of oblivion in itself was right, is manifest from the conduct of all wise princes and states after civil commotions; that it is better, on all these occasions, to incline to mercy than severity, cannot well be called in question I think; and therefore Mr. Ludlow's censure on the act is not, perhaps, the most justly founded. That Cromwell pressed the act is probable. It became him as a good politician, considered merely as a member of the parliament: as a man of ambition and great designs, it was wise and well judged; nothing so easily procuring friends as generosity and forgiveness: though it is not at all unlikely that natural temper had a good share in all this transaction. For he was naturally humane and

[a] Ludlow, vol. I. p. 402. [b] Id. vol. II. p. 448.

they before had the navigation act [39] to increase their wealth and power.

benevolent, as appears from his procuring the liberty of those who were imprisoned on account of Love's plot[a]; by his endeavouring to free the estate of the countess of Arundel and Surry from sequestration, and from his using his power, for the obliging such as stood in need of protection and assistance, which was so well known, that we find the marchioness of Ormonde addressing herself to him for favour[b], though her lord had publicly treated his character but scurvily. His sentiments, with respect to the manner of dealing with his adversaries, cannot be so well represented as by a letter written to his son Henry at Dublin, Nov. 21, 1655.——"I do believe there may be some particular persons, who are not very well pleased with the present condition of things, and may be apt to shew their discontent, as they have opportunity; but this should not make too great impressions on you. Tyme and patience may worke them to a better frame of spirit, and bring them to see that, which, for the present, seemes to be hid from them; especially if they shall see your moderation and love towards them, whilst they are found in other ways towards you; which I earnestly desire you to studye and endeavour all that lyes in you, whereof both you and I too shall have the comfort, whatsoever the issue and event thereof be[c]." These seem to be the sentiments of a humane heart, and, probably, induced him, and the parliament in general, to give ease and rest to their enemies by the act here spoken of, so much to their honour.

[39] The navigation act.] The parliament, from its first sitting, had been constantly engaged in great affairs. But they shewed themselves equal to them, though of different kinds. We have seen them direct the wars in which they were engaged with wisdom and prudence. The arts of

[a] See Thurloe, vol. I. p. 765. [b] Milton's State Papers, by Nickols, p. 20, 86. [c] Thurloe, vol. I. p. 725.

peace they cultivated, and strove to raise the nation to the pinnacle of glory. How industrious they were their journals and public acts yet remaining abundantly testify. We may from them conclude, that levees were neither so frequent, or of so long continuance, as in other periods of time since, when the important business of the nation has been forced to wait till the minister has been at leisure to give his attendance in the house ——But this by the way.—— As a maritime people, trade and commerce claim the chief attention of the legislature of Britain. This the parliament were sensible of, and therefore passed the act, intitled, "Goods from foreign parts, by whom to be imported," October 9, 1651. The preamble is short, but expressive. "For the increase of the shipping and encouragement of the navigation of this nation, which, under the good providence and protection of God, is so great a means of the welfare and safety of this commonwealth, Be it enacted, &c." The chief clauses in this famous act are, that no goods shall be imported from Asia, Africa, or America, but in English ships, under the penalty of forfeiture of the said goods and ships:——nor from any part of Europe, except in such vessels as belong to the people of that country, of which the goods are the growth or manufacture, under the like penalty:——that no salt-fish, whale-fins, or oil, should be imported, but what were caught or made by the people of England; nor no salt-fish to be exported, or carried from one port to another in this nation, but in English vessels, under the like penalty: but commodities from the Levant seas, the East-Indies, the ports of Spain or Portugal, might be imported from the usual ports or places of trading used heretofore, though the said commodities were not the very growth of the said places. This act did not extend to bullion or prize goods, nor to silk or silk wares brought by land from Italy to Ostend, Amsterdam, Newport, Rotterdam, Middleburg, provided the owners and proprietors, being of the English commonwealth, first made oath by themselves, or other credible witness, that the goods were bought with the

proceed of English commodities, sold either for money or in barter[a].

Ludlow tells us, that Mr. St. John was the principal instrument to prevail with the council of state to move the parliament to pass this act[b]. If so, his memory ought to be dear to Englishmen; for its utility was so apparent, that, with some additions and explanations, it had the sanction of the three estates, at a time when men's prejudices were at the height against the framers of it[c]. The greatest possible proof of its excellency. Mr. Coke indeed censures this act in the severest terms: he says, "it was the second step to the French grandeur by sea;"——and observes, "that the *ratio finalis*, or end for which laws are made, are usually set down in the preamble of other acts of parliament, whereas there is none in the act of navigation. On the contrary," continues he, "the Rump were so hasty in making this act, designed in spight to the Dutch, that the title of it is absurd and impossible; for the title is, 'An act for encouraging and increasing of shipping and navigation.' It is impossible to encourage any inanimated body, as a rump, stock, stone, dead horse, ass, or shipping: its true, men may be encouraged to increase shipping and navigation, but then it must be (I conceive) by one of these ways; either by giving money or rewards to those who build ships; or, by increasing trade, by which these ships may be better employed: and I do not find that ever the Rump gave one groat to encourage this shipping and navigation."——And, after a great deal more against it, he concludes, "and sure, now its more than time the king and parliament would loose the nation from the fetters which this act (made in haste and spight against the Dutch, by a company of usurpers and regicides) hath put upon it; not only to our loss, but as much to the benefit of the French as well as the Dutch: and I do say, that this law has been more injurious to the English nation, than all the injuries it hath received from the French and

[a] Scobel's Collections. [b] Vol. I. p. 345. [c] Statutes, 12 Car. II. c. 18, 19. and 13. c. 14.

If to these we add the projection of an union[40]

Dutch, either in war or peace; nor will it be possible for the nation to repair the losses sustained by it, but by repealing it[a]." All this is very high! It is pleasant, however, to observe, that this author has taken the title of the act as new modelled in the beginning of Charles II.'s time, to shew what an absurd, stupid race of animals these usurpers and regicides were. Had he read it, as given by the parliament, he would not have exposed himself as he has here done. Sir Josias Child is an authority more to be regarded in matters of commerce than most. His opinion, therefore, I suppose, will alone be sufficient to set aside Mr. Coke's censure. "The act of navigation," says he, "though it have some things in it wanting amendment, deserves to be called our (*Charta Maritima*)[b]." And again, "for my own part, I am of opinion, that, in relation to trade, shipping, profit and power, it is one of the choicest and most prudent acts that ever was made in England, and without which we had not now been owners of one half of the shipping, nor trade, nor employed one half of the seamen which we do at present——[c]."

[40] The projection of an union with Scotland.] "The parliament of England being desirous, after all these successes," says Ludlow, "to convince even their enemies, that their principal design was to procure the happiness and prosperity of all that were under their government, sent commissioners to Scotland to treat concerning an union of that nation with England in one commonwealth; directing them to take care, till that could be effected, that obedience should be given to the authority of the parliament of the commonwealth of England. The commissioners appointed to this end on the part of the parliament, were Sir Henry Vane, the chief justice St. Johns, Mr. Fenwicke, major Salloway, major-general Lambert, colonel Titchburn, major-general Dean,

[a] Cokes Detection, vol. II. p. 12—29. [b] Preface to his New Discourse of Trade, 12mo. Lond. 1693. [c] Child on Trade, p. 91.

with Scotland, and the settlement of Ireland

and colonel Monk. This proposition of union was chearfully accepted by the most judicious among the Scots, who well understood how great a condescension it was in the parliament of England to permit a people they had conquered to have a part in the legislative power[a]."——The same author, in another place, writes as follows: "The parliament having resolved upon the incorporation of Scotland with the nation of England into one free state or commonwealth, and to reimburse themselves some part of that treasure they had expended in their own defence against the invasions of the Scots, declared the goods and lands, formerly belonging to the crown of Scotland, to be confiscated, and also those that were possessed by such persons as had assisted in the invasion of England by duke Hamilton, in the year 1648, or had appeared in arms since, under the king of Scots, in order to subvert the present government; excepting those who, since the battle of Dunbar, had abandoned the said king of Scots, and, by their merits and services, had rendered themselves worthy of favour. That all such who are not comprehended under the said qualifications, and shall concur with them in their just enterprize, shall receive the benefit of their protection, and enjoy their liberties and goods equally with the free people of England. In pursuance of this declaration of the parliament, their commissioners in Scotland published another, wherein they discharge from confiscation all merchants and tradesmen, who possess not in land or goods above the value of five hundred pounds, and are not prisoners of war, soldiers of fortune, moss troopers, or such as have killed or committed outrages against the English soldiers contrary to the laws and customs of war. They also emitted a proclamation, abolishing, in the name of the parliament, all manner of authority and jurisdiction, derived from any other power but that of the commonwealth of England, as well in Scotland

[a] Ludlow, vol. I. p. 388.

before-mentioned (both of which so much con-

as in all the isles belonging to it. After this they summoned the counties, cities and buroughs, to agree to the incorporation before-mentioned; of which eighteen of one and thirty counties, and twenty-four of sixty-six cities and boroughs, consented to send their deputies to the parliament of England, most of the rest excusing themselves for want of money to defray the expences of their representatives[a]." Let us now hear Dr. Gumble, who wrote at a time when it was no way fashionable, or, perhaps, safe to say much in praise of the commonwealth.——" The English pretended commonwealth having reduced the whole nation of Scotland and Ireland, they having a great calm of peace and tranquility, they fell upon a project (though practised by usurpers, and men who had great fears because of their great crimes, and of much care and diligence, because of their future danger to be brought to condign punishment) to unite all the three nations into one government, and to meet in one parliament, a work which they did effect by the present advantages of conquest, and by a pretended consent of some elected deputies: this union being a work which king James, of blessed memory, set on foot, and renewed by our gracious sovereign king Charles II. (whom God direct to the conclusion) an affair that would as much tend to the peace and publique security of all the three nations, as any other designe that can be imagined; but these men, like the children of this world, who were more wise in their generation than the children of light and truth, who were able by their force then upon these conquered countries; for so they were then in appearance, though, upon unjust grounds, they compelled them to send members to the parliament of England, which not a little advantaged the traffick of all, which is since prohibited, but, upon a renewed union, would be confirmed: to gain this point, they published an act of oblivion, to forget all injuries, and for-

[a] Ludlow, vol. I. p. 401

tributed to the welfare of the English nation)

give all hostilities; to imitate the subtil estate of Athens, that first gave the precedent.——To this end commissioners from the pretended parliament were sent down into Scotland, amongst whom was general Monk (without whose interposing little good was to be done in Scotland) and though St. John, Vane and Salloway, with others, could talk more, yet none could perswade that nation so much as he, who (though they looked upon him in the times of hostility as a severe enemy) yet they trusted him in this business more than all the rest, and, upon giving them hopes of better days, submitted to the present necessities. ——Upon the settling all things there, according to the will and pleasure of their masters in England, they returned, and general Monk with them[a]."——On examination of the Journals, and Mr. Whitlock's Memorials, who had a great hand in bringing the union with Scotland to a head, it appears that Ludlow's account is, in the main, pretty exact[b]. However, the parliament had not the honour of finishing this affair. It was reserved for Cromwell, who, by an act, passed April 12, 1654, intitled, "Scotland made one commonwealth with England," fully accomplished it. In the preamble of this act the proceedings of the commonwealth are briefly recited, and it is declared, that Scotland and its dependencies shall be incorporated with England, and in every parliament, to be held successively, thirty persons shall be called from, and serve for Scotland. By this act kingship was abolished there; the arms of Scotland were to be borne with the arms of the English commonwealth; servitude and vassalage taken away. Superiorities, lordships, and jurisdictions abolished, and the heritors freed from all military service, and all forfeitures fall to the lord protector for the time being[c]. These, with many other things, were enacted, tending to destroy the

[a] Gumble's Life of Monk, p. 47. 8vo. Lond. 1671. [b] See Journals of October 8. 26. and 29. 1652. [c] Scobel's Collections.

the new modelling the representation[41] in par-

tyranny and power of the great men in that kingdom, and render the people more easy and happy. Mr. Dalrymple speaking of the jurisdictions of the Scotch, says, "Cromwell had enough of the monarch to see how inconsistent these private jurisdictions were, either with the interest of the supream power, or the safety of the people; but he had too much of the tyrant, to think of making any reparation to the private proprietors, from whom he took their jurisdictions, but to whom he gave nothing in return[a]." What the wisdom of monarchs has been history will best determine; how much of the tyrant appeared in taking away these jurisdictions is not so very certain. That they were inconsistent with the supreme power, or the safety of the people, were reasons abundant for their abolition. For no private interest ought ever to be regarded that stands in competition with these. That he gave nothing to the private proprietors might be, because they merited nothing from his hands. They had, almost all of them, cavaliers and presbyterians, opposed the English government; they had invaded the English territories, and put the government to great charges, and were known, most of them, to be still, in their hearts, addicted to the race, from whom, and for whom, they had suffered so much. Could these men then expect any favour, any reward from his hands? That the jurisdictions were in the hands of enemies, and supported their power, had been cause sufficient to wrest these from them. So that, by this learned gentleman's leave, tyranny is not to be imputed to Cromwell on this account, but his policy, and, indeed, humanity, ought to be applauded, who disarmed a set of petty tyrants, and gave freedom to those who had groaned long under vassalage and chains.

[41] New modelling the representation in parliament.] At what time the commons began to have representatives in parliament is none of my business to enquire. Those who

[a] History of Feudal Property, p. 294. 8vo. Lond. 1757.

liament, of the people of the kingdom of

desire information must consult our historians and antiquaries, especially Prynne, and Petyt, men of vast diligence and erudition. Suffice it here to say, that in the time of Henry the Third they were possessed of it.——The advantages of this representation are well known. The house of commons has frequently asserted the liberties of the nation, framed good laws, brought to punishment bad ministers, and hindered the introduction of despotism, to which some of our princes have been but too much inclined. It has been the aim therefore of these to influence the electors in their choice of members, and to bribe, to flatter, to menace, and terrify them when chosen, from adhering to the interests of their country and constituents. The small boroughs being most easily led by the agents of princes and their ministers, were from time to time privileged with the choice of members, especially if in any good degree dependant on the crown, whereby it came to pass that the majority was generally under court influence, and directed by the will of the sovereign, or his favourite for the time being. This was an inconvenience which had long been felt, but was almost impossible to be remedied in the common course of things. But when the constitution was broken, when the power of the crown and of the lords was abolished, and there was a necessity for great alteration in the frame of the government, one of the first things that was proposed to the consideration of the parliament of the commonwealth of England was a more equal representative. This was contained in a "Petition from his excellency Thomas lord Fairfax, and the general council of officers of the army, to the honourable the commons in parliament assembled, concerning the draught of an agreement of the people for a secure and present peace, by them framed and prepared," presented January 20, 1649, N.S. The agreement was offered to the consideration of the house first, and then to every man without doors, to subscribe it, to whose judgment is was agreeable. In this they say—"Since our

England, so much needed and approved, though former oppressions, and not yet ended troubles, have been occasioned, either by want of frequent national meetings in council, or by the undue or unequal constitution thereof, or by rendring these meetings uneffectual: we are fully resolved, God willing, to provide, that hereafter our representatives be neither left to an uncertainty for time, nor be unequally constituted, nor made useless to the ends for which they are intended. In order whereunto we declare and agree,

"1. That to prevent the many inconveniences, apparently arising from the long continuance of the same persons in supream authority, this present parliament end and dissolve upon, or before the last day of April, 1649.

"2. That the people of England (being at this day very unequally distributed, by counties, cities, and burroughs, for the election of their representatives) be indifferently proportioned, and to this end, that the representative of the whole nation shall consist of four hundred persons, or not above; and in each county, and the places hereto subjoined, there shall be chosen, to make up the said representative at all times, the several members here mentioned."——Then follows the number of each county, with the boroughs, towns and parishes therein, except such as were under particularly named.

It is observable that in the scheme for a new representative, the little boroughs were wholly deprived of the liberty of sending members, any otherwise than as they had votes in common for the county, though some of the opulent towns and cities had the privileges of sending one or more according to the number and riches of the inhabitants. Thus for instance, the county of Cornwall, with the boroughs, towns and parishes therein, were to send eight: the county of Devon with the boroughs, towns and parishes were to have twelve, besides Exeter, which were to chuse two, Plymouth two, and Barnstable one. Wilts, including one for Salisbury, eight; the Cinque-ports three, &c. But on the contrary, the county of Middlesex were to chuse four;

left unfinished by them; their attempts to re-

the city of London eight, the city of Westminster and the duchy two, besides Southwark, which had two allotted for it likewise. Many rules relating to the choice and regulation of the representative were recommended, as "That of course it should be chosen every two years; that no member of any councel of state, nor any officer of any salary, forces in the army, or garrison, nor any treasurer or receiver of publique moneys, shall, while such, be elected to be of a representative; that one hundred and fifty members be always present at each sitting of the representative at the passing of any law, or passing any act, whereby the people are to be bound; that in each interval betwixt biennial representatives, the councel of state (which was to be chosen by parliament, and to continue till the tenth day after the meeting of the next representative for the management of publique affairs) in case of imminent danger or great necessity, may summon a representative to be forthwith chosen and to meet; so as the session thereof continue not above fourscore days, and so as it dissolve at least fifty days before the appointed time for the next biennial representative.——With regard to the power given to the representative, it was declared that though the supream trust was to be invested with them for the preservation and government of the whole, yet many things ought not to be left in their power: particularly pressing men to serve in war either abroad or at home, unless in the way of training and exercising them in order to repel foreign invasions, or quell intestine commotions; invalidating securities given or to be given on the publique faith; exempting any persons from subjection to the laws, or giving judgment on any man's person or estate, where no law hath before provided." It was also added, "That no representative may in any wise render up, or give, or take away any the foundations of common right, liberty and safety contained in the agreement; nor level mens estates, destroy propriety, or make all things common: and that in all matters of such fundamental

form the abuses of the law, and their enact-

concernment, there shall be a liberty to particular members of the said representatives to enter their dissents from the major voice."——With respect to religion, they desired, "That the Christian religion be held forth and recommended as the publick profession in the nation; that publick teachers might be maintained by the representatives out of the publick treasury, not by tythes, provided that popery or prelacy be not held forth as the publick way or profession in this nation. It was moreover added, that to the publick profession so held forth, none be compelled by penalties or otherwise; and that such as profess faith in God by Jesus Christ, (however differing in judgment from the doctrine, discipline or worship publickly held forth) shall not be restrained from, but shall be protected in the profession of their faith, and exercise of their religion according to their consciences in any place (except the places set apart for the publick worship, which without leave they were not to make use of) so as they abuse not this liberty to the civil injury of others, or to the actual disturbance of the publick peace[a]." The officers who presented this petition and agreement were thanked by the speaker in the name of the house, and told withall that it should be taken into consideration with all convenient speed. It was at the same time ordered by them to be printed. According to their promise, the house fell very seriously to consider this proposal for a new representative. A committee was appointed, May 15 following, for this purpose; and on the 9th of January, 1649, O. S. Sir Henry Vane, junior, reported from the committee their proceedings, and their votes, as heads, to be the grounds of the debate of the house. These contained the numbers each county were to send to parliament, formed on the plan in the agreement of the people, though in many instances differing from it, but yet proportioned in such a manner as to be apparently for the public good, and prefer-

[a] Petition, &c. 4to. London printed for John Partridge, &c. 1649.

ing all law proceedings to be in the English

able to what had before been made use of[a]. In consequence of this report, it was resolved by the parliament, that the number of persons, that shall be elected for the commonwealth, to sit and serve in parliament for this nation, as members thereof, shall not exceed four hundred. The committee had resolved also, that the pleasure of the house should be known whether there should be a particular distribution of the said proportions upon several places within each respective county. And moreover, that the right of electing and sending of members to parliament for ever, according to the said proportions respectively be granted and confirmed by act of the then parliament. That in the said act there be presented the manner how the said elections shall be made, together with the qualifications of the electors and elected, with some other heads to strengthen and confirm these new regulations. But only the number to serve in parliament was now determined, and the remainder of the report was referred to a grand committee of the house, to take into consideration the several heads reported, according to the number of four hundred; and upon their debate, to prepare a bill, to be presented to the house. Accordingly we find in the journals that on every Wednesday following, till the differences with Scotland broke out into a war, the house in a grand committee sat and debated on this important subject, and had not entirely finished it, when a period was put to their sitting in the manner we shall soon see.——It is not to be doubted, had the parliament finished their plan, it would have been truly excellent. As it is, it appears capable of being rendered greatly useful, whenever a set of men of wisdom and fortitude shall arise to carry it into execution. That this is not too high an encomium on the parliament's scheme for a new representation, will appear from that part of the instrument of government subscribed by Cromwell, on his assuming the pro-

[a] See Journal of Jan. 9, 1649. And Parliamentary History, vol. XIX. p. 245.

tongue[42]; their seeking out, employing and

tectorate, relating to the summoning and electing of parliaments; which I am persuaded was framed by the grand committee above-mentioned, though the house had not time to pass it into a law. It is too long to be given here, but the curious may find it in Whitlock[a], and without doubt will wish for its revival. The rotten part of the constitution, as I think Burnet somewhere calls our small boroughs, would then be incapable by their venality and corruption of doing the mischief they sometimes have done, to themselves, their representatives, and the public.—"Among the alterations requisite to be made on the British government, in order to bring it to the most perfect model of limited monarchy," says Mr. Hume, "the plan of the republican parliament ought to be restored by making the representation equal, and by allowing none to vote in the county elections, who possess not an hundred a year[b]." This restriction appears not at all to have entered into the thoughts of the parliament. An estate real or personal of two hundred pounds in value, was the qualification for an elector, in the instrument of government above mentioned.

[42] Their attempts to reform the law, and enacting all law proceedings to be in the English tongue.] The tediousness and expensiveness of law proceedings have long been the subject of complaint, as well as that glorious uncertainty of the law, which has been often boasted of with high glee by some of its professors. It is not to be doubted but the slow and prolix process of the law sometimes preserves the unwary or unskilful from being surprised, and affords the fairer opportunity to bring truth to light, or give relief to the oppressed: but whether these advantages are not outweighed by the vexation, trouble and expense necessarily incurred thereby, those who have been so unhappy as to be engaged in it, can best

[a] P. 572. It is to be found also in other writers. [b] Political Essays, p. 300. 12mo. Edinb. 1752.

rewarding the best pens for writing in behalf

determine.——As early as the year 1640, the parliament was addressed on this subject, in the following words: "Yee know, the laws of this nation are unworthy a free people, and deserve from first to last, to be considered, and seriously debated, and reduced to an agreement with common equity, and right reason, which ought to be the form and life of every government. *Magna Charta* itself being but a beggarly thing, containing many marks of intollerable bondage, and the laws that have been made since by parliaments, have in very many particulars made our government much more oppressive and intollerable. The Norman way for ending of controversies, was much more abusive than the English way, yet the conqueror, contrary to his oath, introduced the Norman laws, and his litigious and vexatious way amongst us; the like he did also for punishment of malefactors, controversies of all natures having before a quick and final dispatch in every hundred. He erected a trade of judges and lawyers, to sell justice and injustice at his own unconscionable rate, and in what time he pleased; the corruption whereof is yet remaining upon us, to our continual impoverishing and molestation; from which we thought you should have delivered us[a]."——In the copy of a very valuable manuscript paper, formerly belonging to colonel Saunders of Derbyshire, colonel of a regiment of horse, written about the end of the year 1647; among many other excellent proposals for the establishment of a firm and present peace, is the following. "That the huge volumes of statute laws and ordinances, with the penalties therein imposed, as well corporal as pecuniary, be well revised; and such only left in force, as shall be found fit for the commonwealth, especially that mens lives be more precious than formerly, and that lesser punish-

[a] Remonstrance of many thousand citizens and other freeborn people of England to their own house of commons, occasioned by the imprisonment of John Lilburn, 4to. without name or place.

ments than death, and more useful to the publick be found out for smaller offences: That all laws, writs, commissions, pleadings, and records be in the English tongue; and that proceedings be reduced to a more certain charge, and a more expeditious way than formerly: That no fees at all be exacted of the people in courts of justice; but that the publick ministers of state be wholly maintained out of the publick treasury."——In the petition of the lord general and officers mentioned in the preceding note, we find among other things noticed, as worthy to be provided for by parliament, "The removing or reforming of evils or inconveniences in the present laws, and administrations thereof, the redresse of abuses, and supplying of defects therein, the putting of all the laws and proceedings thereof into the English tongue, the reducing of the course of law to more brevity and less charge[a]." These persons seem not to have concurred in judgment with lord Coke, who tells us, "The law is the perfection of reason;" "That the law is nothing else but reason; and that if all the reason that is dispersed into so many several heads were united into one, yet could he not make such a law as the law of England is, because by many succession of ages it hath been fined and refined by an infinite number of grave and learned men, and by long experience grown to such a perfection, for the government of this realm, as the old rule may be truly verified of it, *Neminem oportet esse sapientiorem legibus:* No man (out of his own private reason) ought to be wiser than the law, which is the perfection of reason[b]." However this may be, the parliament being urged by seeming considerations of public utility, on January 20, 1651, appointed "A committee to take into consideration what inconveniences were in the law, how the mischief that grows from delays, the chargeableness and irregularities in the proceedings of the law may be prevented, and the speediest way to prevent the same." No great matters however followed from this committee, by

[a] Hume's Political Essays, p. 28. 12mo. Edinb. 1758. [b] Coke on Littleton, fol. 98. 2d Edit.

reason of the hurry of the times, and the opposition of the lawyers, who were full of lord Coke's opinion concerning the perfection of the laws of England, as gentlemen of that profession, for the most part, will always be; for as they then and now stand, they are the means of procuring preferments, titles, and ministerial estates. Can we wonder then they have vindicators, admirers and applauders?——A little before the parliament passed an act, "That all the books of the law should be put into English; and that all writs, process, and returns thereof, and all patents, commissions, indictments, judgments, records, and all rules and proceedings in courts of justice should be in the English tongue. It was moreover enacted, that they should be written in an ordinary, usual and legible hand and character, and not in any hand commonly called court hand." This act does great honour to the parliament, and is an argument of their good sense, and concern for the welfare of the people. It is amazing so good a law should not have been continued by proper authority after the Restoration! But it was generally a sufficient reason then to disuse a thing, though ever so good in itself, that it had been enacted by an usurped power. Of such fatal consequences are prejudices! But thanks be to God! we have seen the time when this most excellent ordinance has been again revived, and received the sanction of the whole legislature.——It has indeed been questioned, "Whether a noble dead language, which has suffered no variation in it for above these thousand years last past, is not better to preserve records in than so flux a one as English[a]."——For my own part, I should think not: unless the uncertain good of very distant posterity, is to be preferred to our own present real advantage, which I imagine few will say.——But to go on.—"How much were it to be wished, that a committee of wise and prudent persons were once more employed to revise, amend and abridge our laws! That we might know ourselves how to act, and not be necessitated

[a] Parliamentary History, vol. XIX. p. 439.

of liberty [43], civil and religious; the application

to make use of those, who (we are sensible) live on our spoils.——But much is it to be feared, that our adversaries will be too hard for us, and that we shall be obliged, for a time at least, to submit to their yoke. But whenever the spirit of true patriotism shall generally possess the minds of our senators, I doubt not, but they will apply themselves to our deliverance in good earnest, and bring it to perfection, (as it was long ago done in Denmark, and more lately in Prussia) inasmuch as the happiness of the community absolutely depends thereon [a]."

[43] Their seeking out, and rewarding the best pens, &c.] There have been few governments destitute of writers to defend and applaud their measures. For, to the disgrace of letters, venal pens in all ages have been in plenty. Hence it has come to pass that panegyrics have been made on the worst measures and administrations, even by men who, in their hearts, despised them. It is no way surprising therefore that the parliament should have had writers on their side: their power and wealth would account for this. But that they should have searched out and found men of real abilities to undertake their cause, and do justice to their actions, must have arose only from their own judgment and liberality. The works of Milton are well known. They are an honour to himself, his cause and his employers.——"The Tenure of Kings and Magistrates," was written to prove, "That it is lawful, and hath been held so through all ages, for any, who have the power, to call to account a tyrant, or wicked king, and after due conviction to depose, and put him to death; if the ordinary magistrate have neglected, or denied to do it."—In a noble strain it is here said, "None can love freedom heartily, but good men: the rest love not freedom, but license; which never hath more scope, or more indulgence than under tyrants." His Iconoclastes was undertaken in the behalf of liberty and the

[a] Historical and Critical Account of Hugh Peters, note M. 8vo. Lond. 1751.

of the large church revenues taken from the commonwealth, as was his answer to Salmasius also, by the appointment, as he says, and not without the approbation of the civil power [a]. The parliament rewarded him with a thousand pound for this last performance, and made him their Latin secretary, by which they obtained a never-dying fame. For his state letters written in that language, exceed beyond comparison any thing of that kind extant. We are not to wonder therefore that Milton's reputation was high both at home and abroad; or that he was visited and invited by foreign ambassadors at London, not excepting those of crowned heads [b]. ——He was worthy of the honour. For, "as he looked upon true and absolute freedom to be the greatest happiness of this life, whether to societies or single persons, so he thought constraint of any sort to be the utmost misery; for which reason he used frequently to tell those about him of the intire satisfaction of his mind, that he had constantly employed his strength and faculties in the defence of liberty, and in direct opposition to slavery. And his aversion to monarchy, as he told his friend Sir Robert Howard, was heightened by this consideration, that the trappings of it might support an ordinary commonwealth [c]." ——It is asserted on good authority, "That Milton was allowed a weekly table by the parliament, for the entertainment of foreign ministers, especially such as come from protestant states, and for the learned: which allowance was also continued by Cromwell [d]." How noble the example! —Marchamont Needham, who had written Mercurius Pragmaticus against the parliament, was not only pardoned by them, but if we may believe Mr. Wood, by promises of rewards and places, was induced to become an advocate for them and liberty. This was a writer indeed worth gaining.

[a] Milton's Prose Works, p. 559. [b] Richardson's Life of Milton, p. 79. 8vo. Lond. 1734. [c] Life of Milton, by Dr. Birch, p. 74, prefixed to his Prose Works. [d] Toland's Life of Milton, p. 110, in the note, 8vo. Lond. 2d edit. N. B. This edition is enriched with most curious and valuable observations in the notes.

bishops, deans and chapters, who by act of

His morals or integrity perhaps were not the most strict (though I know nothing alleged against him on these heads, except changing his party often) but he had wit, parts, learning, and a style beyond most of his age. "His Mercurius Politicus, which came out by authority, and flew every week into all parts of the nation for more than ten years, had very great influence upon numbers of inconsiderable persons, such as have a strong presumption that all must needs be true that is in print. He was the Goliah of the Philistians, the great champion of the late usurper, whose pen in comparison of others, was like a weavers beam. And certainly he that will, or can peruse those his intelligences called Merc. Politici, will judge that had the devil himself (the father of all lies) been in this Goliah's office, he could not have exceeded him. As having with profound malice calumniated his sovereign, scurrility abused the nobility, impudence blasphemed the church and members thereof, and industry poisoned the people with dangerous principles[a]." One may easily gather from this character, that Needham with zeal and ability defended the cause of his masters against their adversaries. Besides the quotation given in note 32, I will add a few more, as the work from whence I take it is not in many hands, and very little known even amongst the curious.

In one of his papers he asserts, "That the original of all just power and government is in the people." This he proves after the following manner.——"As for the government of the Israelites, first under Moses, then Joshua and the judges, the Scriptures plainly shew, that they were extraordinary governors being of God's immediate institution, who raised them up by his spirit, and imposed them upon that people, whose peculiar happiness it was in cases of this nature, to have so infallible and sure a direction; so that their government was a Theocrasie (as some have called it) having God himself for its only original, and therefore

[a] Athenæ Oxonienses, vol. II. c. 626

parliament had been abolished, and the wise

no wonder we have in that time and nation so few visible footsteps of the peoples election, or of an institution by compact. But yet we find after the judges, that when this people rejected this more immediate way of government by God (as the Lord tells Samuel, they have not rejected thee, but me) and desired a government after the manner of other nations, then God seems to forbear the use of his prerogative, and leave them to an exercise of their own natural rights and liberties, to make choice of a new government and governor by suffrage and compact. The go[illegible] these [illegible] they aimed at was kingly. God himself was dis[illegible] it, and so was Samuel too, who in hope to continue the old form, and to fright them from the new, tells them what monsters in government kings would prove, by assuming unto themselves an arbitrary power (not that a king might lawfully and by right do what Samuel describes (as Salmasius and all the royal interpreters would have us believe) but only to shew how far kings would presume to abuse their power, which no doubt Samuel foresaw, not only by reason, but by the spirit of prophecy.) Nevertheless the people would have a king ; say they, Nay, but there shall be a king over us: whereupon saith God to Samuel, Hearken to their voice: where you plainly see, first God gives the leave to exercise their own natural right, in making choice of their form of government. But then indeed for the choice of their governor, there was one thing extraordinary, in that God appointed them one, he vouchsafing still in an extraordinary and immediate manner to be their director and protector ; but yet though God was pleased to nominate the person, he left the confirmation and ratification of the kingship unto the people, to shew that naturally the right of all was in them, however the exercise of it were superseded at that time by his divine pleasure, as to the point of nomination. For that the people might understand it was their right, Samuel calls them all to Mizpeh, as if the matter were all to be done anew on their

part, and there by lot they at length made choice of Saul and so immediately proclaim him with shouts and acclamations; and then having had proof of his valour against the Ammonites, they met at Gilgal, and proclaim him king once again, to shew (that naturally) the validity of his kingship depended wholly on the peoples consent and confirmation, and so you see, the first and most eminent evidence of the institution of political government in Scripture doth notoriously demonstrate, that its original is in or from the people[a]."——In another place, speaking of errors in policy, he says, "The regulation of affairs by reason of state, not the strict rule of honesty, has been an epidemical one. But if I be mistaken, continues he, you are to understand; that by reason of state here we do not condemn the equitable result of prudence and right reason; for upon determinations of this nature depends the safety of all states and princes; but that reason of state which flows from a corrupt principle to an indirect end; that reason of state which is the statesman's reason, or rather his will and lust, when he admits ambition to be a reason, preferment, power, profit, revenge and opportunity to be reasons sufficient to put him upon any design or action that may tend to present advantage; though contrary to the law of God, or the law of common honesty, and of nations.—Reason of state is the most sovereign command, and the most important counsellor. Reason of state is the card and compass of the ship. Reason of state is many times the religion of a state; the law, the life of a state. That which answers all objections and quarrels about mal-government. That which wages war, imposes taxes, cuts off offenders, pardons offenders, sends and treats ambassadors. It can say and unsay; do and undo, balk the common road, make high-ways to become by-ways, and the farthest about to become the nearest cut. If a difficult knot come to be untied, which neither the divine by Scripture, nor lawyer by case or precedent can untie, then reason of state, or an hundred ways more which

[a] Mercurius Politicus, No. 98. p. 1508.

ideots know not, dissolve it. This is that great empress which the Italians call Raggione di Stato: it can rant as a soldier, compliment as a monsieur, trick it as a juggler, strut it as a statesman, and is as changeable as the moon in the variety of her appearances[a]." This beautiful piece of satire will, I presume, be acceptable to many of my readers.——I will make but one citation more from this writer, but it contains, I believe, the sentiments of the majority in power at that time on the subject of church government.——"If we seriously reflect," says he, "upon the design of God, in bringing Christ into the world, we shall find it was to set an end to the pompous administration of the Jewish form, that as his church and people were formerly confined in the narrow pale of a particular nation, so now the pale should be broken down, and all nations taken into the church. Not all nations in a lump: not any whole nations, or national bodies to be formed into churches: for his church or people now under the Gospel are not to be a body political, but spiritual and mystical: not a promiscuous confusion of persons taken in at adventure, but an orderly collection, a picking and chusing of such as are called and sanctifyed, &c. Not a company of men forced in by commands and constitutions of worldly power and prudence, but of such as are brought in by the power and efficacy of Christ's word and spirit. For he himself hath said, My kingdom is not from hence; my kingdom is not of this world, &c. And therefore that hand which hitherto hath presumed in most nations to erect a power called ecclesiastick in equipage with the civil to bear sway, and bind mens consciences to certain notions ordained for orthodox, upon civil penalties, under colour of prudence, good order, discipline, preventing of heresy, and advancing of Christ's kingdom; and to this end hath twisted the spiritual power (as they call it) with the worldly and secular interest of state; this I say hath been the right hand of Antichrist, opposing Christ in his way, whose kingdom being not of this

[a] Mercurius Politicus, No. 108. p. 1690

world, depends not upon the helps and devices of worldly wisdom[a]." These extracts sufficiently show how well the cause of liberty, civil and religious, was understood in these times; how much the parliament had them at heart. For none but men conscious of fair intentions, and upright designs towards the public, would have favoured the propagation of notions destructive of evil magistrates, and wicked priests, their neverfailing coadjutors.——But zealous as these men were for liberty, they were careful to keep their people as much as possible from popery, and solicitous to hinder their perversion to that absurd and cruel superstition. A letter to the Spanish ambassador will set this in a clear light. The Project is as follows: "The parliament of the commonwealth of England, understanding that several of the people of this city daily resort to the house of your excellency, and other ambassadors and public ministers from foreign nations here residing, meerly to hear mass, gave order to the council of state, to let your excellency understand, that whereas such resort is prohibited by the laws of the nation, and of very evil example in this our republic, and extreamly scandalous; that they deem it their duty to take care that no such thing be permitted henceforward, and to prohibit all such assemblys for the future. Concerning which, 'tis our desire that your excellency should have a fair advertisement, to the end that henceforth your excellency may be more careful of admitting any of the people of this republic to hear mass in your house. And as the parliament will diligently provide that your excellency's rights and priviledges shall be preserved inviolable, so they persuade themselves that your excellency, during your abode here, would by no means that the laws of this republic should be violated by yourself or by your attendants[b]." What would the parliament have thought of one hundred thousand Papists in London and Westminster, the number reckoned by persons employed in 1745? Since that time they have much in-

[a] Mercurius Politicus, No. 99 p. 1551.

[b] Milton's Prose Works, vol. II. p. 199.

creased, if reports are to be relied on. "In such open defiance of our laws," says an ingenious writer, "has Popery been long making great progress. And whether the threatning consequences are not formidable, may well deserve the consideration of such who are able to discern the inestimable value of our civil and religious liberties.——It would be far from us, after all, to desire any pains or penalties should be inflicted on men, because they have an extravagant ritual, and are fond of worshipping a troop of deities or demons: or for saying prayers by tale or number, either to real or imaginary saints: for venerating a wafer or crucifix. Since he who can feast his soul, either on gold, silver, or precious stones, or who can best relish wood, hay, or stubble, should only have our pity, and we ought to wish him a less depraved appetite. But so long as the Papist holds opinions subversive of morality, destructive of society, dangerous to the civil and religious rights of mankind, i. e. so long as the hand of popery is against every man, so long every man's hand should be against popery. The voice of nature, of self preservation, is loud in the breast of every protestant against this superstition[a]." The reader will pardon I doubt not this small digression, if indeed it be one.

I proceed now with the subject. Besides Milton and Needham, the parliament had another writer of some figure on their side, viz. John Parker, father to Sam. Parker, bishop of Oxon, in the time of James II. This gentleman, "In the year 1650, printed a remarkable book called The government of the people of England precedent and present the same. It was written to spirit men to subscribe to the engagement to be true and faithful to the commonwealth as then established, without a king or the house of lords: and there he asserts that, Populus suo magistratu prior est tempore, natura & dignitate: quia populus magistratum constituit, & quia populus sine magistratu esse potest, sed magistratus sine populo non potest esse. Also out of another classical author, Vindiciæ contra Tyrannos, he affirms,

[a] Three Questions resolved, p. 30. 8vo. Lond. 1737.

provision made for their state clergy and the universities[44]; I say if we consider all these

Reges sunt a populo & sunt constituti causa populi. More he undertakes to prove that the kings of England had no negative voice rightly and by law, but that it was contrary to the law and their oath at coronation. And then *a fortiori*, that the lords neither can have any negative upon the people[a]." This book I never saw. The writings of Henry Parker on the behalf of the parliament are better known. They are indeed worth preserving. Mr. Wood has given us a catalogue of them[b]."——Andrew Marvel is, I know, commonly said to have been employed, under Milton, by the commonwealth. But I apprehend this to be a mistake, as will appear from his own account.——"As to myself," says he, "I never had any, not the remotest relation to publick matters, nor correspondence with the persons then predominant, until the year 1657. When indeed I entered into an employment, for which I was not altogether improper, and which I considered to be the most innocent and inoffensive towards his majesty's affairs of any in that usurped and irregular government, to which all men were then exposed. And this I accordingly discharged without disobliging any one person[c]."——It must not be forgotten that all these gentlemen found their account in writing for the parliament and Cromwell. Both the Parkers were enriched by lucrative and honourable employs, and Marvel, I suppose, was not unrewarded for the discharge of his office, by the Protector.

[44] The wise provision made for their state clergy, and the universities.] The clergy in most countries where Christianity prevailed, got wealth, honour and power. Unmindful of their Master's doctrine and example, they loved the world, and the things which were in it, and, by a variety of ways and means, accumulated large possessions. How honestly

[a] Rehearsal Transprosed, part 2d. p. 122. Lond. 1673. 8vo. [b] Athenæ Oxon. vol. II. c. p. 222. [c] Rehearsal Transprosed, part 2d. p. 127.

things without prejudice, we shall, probably, be forced to acknowledge, that they were born

they got some, how wisely others were bestowed on them by princes, great men, weak women, and persons, indeed, of all ranks and degrees, from a persuasion instilled into them of atoning for their transgressions, and getting better things in reversion in lieu of them; I say, how all this happened is well known to most[a]." Henry VIII. with consent of parliament, made bold to lay his hand on the lands, tenements, and hereditaments of the abbeys and monasteries, and gave, or sold them, to such as were able to make a better use of them; and his son and successor Edward, as well as his daughter Elizabeth, approved of his proceedings, and availed themselves of his example, by plucking now and then a goodly manor or two from the bishopricks. This (with the power of translations) made the bishops cautious of offending, and solicitous of obtaining the good will of the sovereign, and his favourites: and they applied themselves with so much zeal thereunto, that they soon became downright courtiers, supple, complaisant, unmeaning, and ready to put their hand to carry any thing into execution, which they judged agreeable to the crown. So that, for the most part, they were friends to the prerogative, and averse to liberty. For these and other causes, the lords and commons thought proper, by an act of parliament, which had the royal assent, to exclude them from the house of peers; and, by an ordinance of both houses, dated October 9, 1646, their office was abolished, and their lands and possessions settled upon trustees for the use of the commonwealth. The preamble to this ordinance will explain the motives on which it was made. It runs thus: "For the abolishing of archbishops and bishops, and providing for the payment of the just and necessary debts of the kingdom, into which the same hath been drawn by a war, mainly promoted by and in favour of

[a] See Father Paul on Beneficiary Matters, Father Simon on Ecclesiastical Revenues, and Harry Nevil's Plato Redivivus, p. 93—108.

for legislation, and were worthy of it. But

the said archbishops and bishops, and other their adherents and dependants; be it ordained[a]," &c. Thus the whole of the bishops' lands became vested in the parliament, who, by an ordinance, bearing date, October 3, 1648, ordered "the trustees to give warrants to the treasurers for the issuing out and paying of the rents and revenues of parsonages impropriate, tythes, oblations, obventions, pensions, portions of tythes, parsonages and vicarages, as have been, or shall be received by the said treasurers, and have not otherwise been disposed of, for the maintenance of ministers, to such person or persons respectively, to whom the said rents and revenues have been or shall be ordered or assigned by the committee for plundered ministers, for augmentation of maintenance for officiating in any church or chapel in England and Wales."——After the commonwealth took place, the commons of England, in parliament assembled, on the 30th of April, 1649, proceeded farther to pass "an act for the abolishing of deans and chapters, canons, prebends, and other officers and titles, of or belonging to any cathedral or collegiate church or chapel within England or Wales." Their plea for this was necessity.——"Having seriously weighed, say they, the necessity of raising a present supply of money for the present safety of this commonwealth; and finding that their other securities are not satisfactory to lenders, nor sufficient to raise so considerable a sum as will be necessary for the said service, are necessitated to sell the lands of the deans and chapters, for the paying of publick debts, and for the raising of three hundred thousand pounds for the present supply of the pressing necessities of the commonwealth, do enact, &c." —However, they were not for throwing them away, as much as money was wanting.

[a] See a collection of several acts of parliament, ordinances, &c. for particular maintenance for ministers, heads of colleges, &c. 4to. Lond. 1657. From this book I have taken the several citations from the ordinances in this note. See also Seobel's Collections, and Kennet's Case of impropriations and augmentation of vicarages, p. 241, and 268. 8vo. Lond. 17[illegible]

whilst the parliament was thus nobly employed

For none of these lands were to be sold under twelve years purchase, though the lands of the bishops had been allowed to be sold for ten; a tolerable good price, considering the high interest of money, which was at about eight *per cent.* at this time, and the possibility of their being one time or other reclaimed by their former possessors.———Out of these lands thus appointed to be sold, there was excepted, by another act of June the 8th, 1649, "all tythes appropriate, oblations, obventions, portions of tythes appropriate, of or belonging to the archbishops, bishops, deans, and deans and chapters, all which, together with twenty thousand pounds yearly rent, formerly belonging to the crown of England, the commons thought fit to be settled for a competent maintenance of preaching ministers, where it was wanting, in England and Wales." This competent maintenance, in their opinion, was one hundred pounds *per annum*, which they allotted to the state preachers, without, however, taking away any thing from the rich rectories, which were preserved whole and entire. I suppose there are but few disinterested persons but will think this a much better regulated maintenance than what before had been allotted. If an established clergy be useful and necessary, and if the public must maintain them, as seems to have been the received opinion, upon whatsoever reasons founded, surely it behoves the legislature to prevent one part of them from rioting in wealth, and the other almost starving through poverty! Complaints, I know, have been made of the scantiness of our ecclesiastical revenues: but how this can be, when such a multiplicity of very lucrative preferments are daily heaped on a single person, is hard to imagine! A tolerably equitable distribution would, at once, silence every objection on this head, of any reasonable man. ———Indeed, some very sensible persons have been against loading the public with the maintenance of the clergy, on account of several inconveniences attending it.——"Heretofore," says Milton, "in the first evangelic times (and it

at home and abroad, (for the Dutch war was

were happy for Christendom if it were so again) ministers of the Gospel were by nothing else distinguished from other Christians, but by their spiritual knowledge and sanctity of life, for which the church elected them to be her teachers and overseers, though not thereby to separate them from whatever calling she then found them following besides. As the example of St. Paul declares, and the first times of Christianity. When once they affected to be called a clergy, and became, as it were, a peculiar tribe of Levites, a party, a distinct order in the commonwealth, bred up for divines in babling schools, and fed at the public cost, good for nothing else, but what was good for nothing, they soon grew idle; that idleness, with fulness of bread, begat pride and perpetual contention with their feeders, the despised laity, through all ages ever since, to the perverting of religion, and the disturbance of all Christendom. And we may confidently conclude, it will never be otherwise, whilst they are thus upheld undepending on the church, on which alone they antiently depended, and are, by the magistrate, publickly maintained, a numerous faction of indigent persons, crept for the most part out of extream want and bad nurture, claiming, by divine right and freehold, the tenth of our estates, to monopolize the ministry, as their peculiar, which is free and open to all able Christians, elected by any church. Under this pretence, exempt from all other employment, and enriching themselves on the public, they last of all prove common incendiaries, and exalt their horns against the magistrate himself that maintains them, as the priest of Rome did soon after against his benefactor the emperor, and the presbyters of late in Scotland. Of which hireling crew, together with all the mischiefs, dissentions, troubles, wars meerly of their kindling, Christendom might soon rid herself and be happy, if Christians would but know their own dignity, their liberty, their adoption, and let it not be wondered, if I say, their

not terminated, though the English, for the

spiritual priesthood, whereby they have all equally access to any ministerial function, whenever called by their own abilities, and the church, though they never came near commencement or university [a]." Mr. Wall, in his fine letter to Milton, dated Causham, May 26, 1659, has the following passage. "I have sometimes thought (concurring with your assertion of that storied voice that should speak from heaven) when ecclesiastics were endowed with worldly preferments, *Hodie venenum infunditur in ecclesiam:* for, to use the speech of Genesis iv. *ult.* according to the sense which it hath in the Hebrew, then began men to corrupt the worship of God. I shall tell you a supposal of mine, which is this: Mr. Dury has bestowed about thirty years time in travel, conference and writings, to reconcile Calvinists and Lutherans, and that with little or no success. But the shortest way were,——take away ecclesiastical dignities, honours and preferments, on both sides, and all would soon be hushed; the ecclesiastics would be quiet, and then the people would come forth into truth and liberty [b]." These were the sentiments of some of the sons of liberty in the age of which I am now speaking: sentiments proceeding from minds full of concern for truth and virtue, though they had little prospect of being hearkened to by the bulk of mankind, who prefer wealth, pomp and ease to every thing rational, virtuous and manly.——The scheme of the parliament pretended not to this high perfection. It only suppressed the dignity, state and excessive wealth of the lordly ecclesiastics, whilst it left them enough for every virtuous and laudable purpose, and prevented them from feeling the want of the real necessaries their stations were thought to require. Were I to deliver my own sentiments for the real good of ecclesiastics of all sorts and kinds, I would say with

[a] Milton's Prose Works, vol. I. p. 636

[b] Preface to Milton's Iconoclastes, 2d edit. Lond. 1756. 4to.

most part, were successful) the lord-general

a late writer concerning the Jesuits in particular; "render them poor, and they will be humble; render them poor, and they will be useful; render them poor, and they will become holy [a]." But to go on.——Besides the care taken of their parochial clergy, the parliament shewed their benevolence to the universities, by enacting, "That the trustees, in whose hands the dean and chapter lands were vested for the use of the public, shall, from time to time, pay (out of the abovementioned twenty thousand) two thousand pounds yearly, for the increase of the maintenance of the masterships of colleges in both universities, where maintenance is wanting, regard being to be had unto the number of houses of learning in each university, that are fit to have an increase of maintenance, and to make an assignment of maintenance unto them accordingly; provided it do not exceed one hundred pounds *per annum* to any one of them."—This bounty was not ill bestowed. For never, perhaps, were there men of more real merit in the university of Cambridge than now. Witness the names of Cudworth, Whichcott, Wilkins, and many others mentioned by the very ingenious Dr. Salter [b], who educated a race of men that were an honour to their country; I mean Tillotson, Barrow, Smith, More, and such like, who opposed themselves to popery in the most trying times, and taught men the principles of true religion and virtue. Whether Oxford was quite so happy, I know not; though, it is certain, many eminent men were educated there in these times, particularly Mr. Locke, whose writings on toleration and government will be for ever read and admired by men of sense and honesty.——What the sum total produced by the sale of the lands of the bishops, deans and chapters, amounted to, I cannot say.——But here follows an account of the sale of the bishops' lands in the province of York, as given by Mr. Brown Willis [c].

[a] Reflections of a Portuguese upon the Memorial presented by the Jesuits to Clement XIII. p. 152. 8vo. Lond. 1760. [b] Preface to Tuckney's and Whichcott's Letters, 8vo. Lond. 1753. See also note 51. [c] Survey of the Cathedrals of York, &c. 4to. 1727.

Cromwell, attended by some soldiers and offi-

	£.	s.	d.
Sale of the lands of the see of York in the years 1647, 1648, 1649, 1650, 1651, -	63,786	7	1¾
Durham, in the same years, - -	68,121	15	9
Carlisle, - - - -	6,449	11	2
Chester, - - - -	1,129	18	4
Man, - - - -	0,000	0	0
Total -	139,487	12	4¾

From this some tolerable guess may be made of the value of the rest of the bishops' lands, which are those of the province of Canterbury, consisting of that archbishopric and twenty-one bishopric's.——A proposal, some years since, by a nameless writer, was made "for vesting the whole present property of the church in England and Ireland in the crown, not to enrich or add to its power, but as a trustee for the people, who should be always uppermost in the consideration of all true lovers of their country[a].——Is it essentially necessary," says that author, "that bishops should have three, four, five, six, seven, eight, nine and ten thousand pounds a year? Is it necessary that an archbishop should die worth 90,000*l.* besides providing very honourably for his family, in consequence of his power and influence? Is it necessary that one churchman shall enjoy a string of benefices, while numbers have none and starve? I am willing to suppose episcopacy to be an essential branch of the Christian system; and therefore hold the order in all the veneration due to it. But I cannot bring myself to think that the Holy Ghost delights more to abide with them in coaches and palaces, and in parliament, than if they had abided by the primitive simple way of living, practised and inculcated by the apostles. I am no less willing that our prelates retain their seats in parliament, if it shall be thought that they have been always heretofore inspired

[a] The State preferable to the Church, p. 12. 8vo. Lond. 1748.

cers, entered the house, upbraided the mem-

with the spirit of truth and righteousness in their legislative capacity. But admitting, as I do very willingly, that our good lords the bishops add a lustre to the upper house, will they shine the less there for being placed more on the level with each other than they are at present? The poorest of them can afford clean lawn sleeves in their present situation; and if the two metropolitans should be levelled to an annual stipend of 1,500*l.* each, and their respective suffragans to 1,000*l.* I don't see but they might keep a coach in parliament time, notwithstanding the duty on carriage wheels, provided they reside with their flocks the rest of the year. Is it necessary that the bishopries and other church-livings of Ireland, a cheap and plentiful country, should exceed even those in England? or, is it necessary, that, in the north of that kingdom, where there are scarce ten protestants of the episcopal church in a whole parish, many of the incumbents should possess livings of four, six, and eight hundred pounds a year? It is no uncommon sight in that country, to see a parson preach, I should say, read prayers, preaching being disused, to his clerk, and such of his own family as had accompanied him from the parsonage house in his coach and four. Though the value of livings in that kingdom be well known to our clergy, who are never wanting to themselves in pushing their way thither, where they bask in plenty and ease, it would seem as if our statesmen had acquired none or very little knowledge of the treasure that might be raised there by sale of the present possessions of the church. To mention but the primacy there, lately conferred on a very young churchman, but, I suppose, of distinguished piety and erudition, it would sell, at twenty years purchase only, for above 200,000*l.* no contemptible aid to a bleeding country, obliged to raise above ten millions annually, though already above four-score in debt. From this specimen may be seen how greatly the trading and industrious part of the people, that is, the laity, might be eased, if the revenues of the church, tithes and all, were

bers, turned the speaker out of the chair, and

put to sale, and the purchase money applied to the uses of the public. And, surely, in a time of such danger and difficulty as the present, no good subject can warrant opposing the carrying so salutary a scheme into execution. 'Tis probable our open foreign, and native secret enemies might oppose such a healing scheme; but except the French and Spaniards abroad, and our popish fellow-subjects at home, I cannot persuade myself that it would meet with the least opposition. Our protestant laity would unanimously assent to it; and as for the clergy, if their suffrages were taken collectively, I will answer for it, the majority would be with me[a]." Possibly this writer would have found himself mistaken; for, as there are but few of the inferior clergy void of hope, founded on their belief of their own merit, of preferment, these would not be overfond of the scheme; and as for the dignified ones, they would naturally, one and all, cry out against it, as a breach of the alliance between church and state, which they would fain persuade us is productive of many happy consequences to society. The ignorant laity, for any thing I know to the contrary, might be pleased with the carrying such a scheme into execution.——After this brief detail of the great actions of the parliament at home and abroad, it is not to be admired that they met with the applause of the ablest and best judges. To what the reader will find in the note 37, it will be proper to add the opinion of the old chancellor Oxenstiern of Sweden, a name of the highest renown for political abilities in the age in which he lived, the same, whose affairs we are now treating of. It is mentioned from M. Chanut, both in the appendix to Keysler's Travels, and in Basnage's Annals of the United Provinces. "Oxenstiern indeed blamed the extream barbarity committed on the person of the late king of England, but commended and admired almost every part of the plan of that great design which the parliament had

[a] The State preferable to the Church, p. 14. 8vo. Lond. 1718.

put an end[45], for the present, to the supreme

formed." Basnage adds, "that he said, it had been conducted with distinguished prudence, and that those who then governed in England, acted upon such principles of policy as were founded in truth and experience[a]."——— Such readers as are unprejudiced, will not, after this, think, I am persuaded, that Mr. Hume has done justice to the parliament in the following character: "These men," says he, "had not that large thought, nor comprehensive views, which might qualify them for acting the part of legislators: selfish aims and bigotry chiefly engrossed their attention. They carried their rigid austerity so far as to enact laws, declaring fornication, after the first act, to be felony, without benefit of clergy[b]." Is this a likeness? Let facts determine.———Undoubtedly their law, with respect to fornication, was much too rigid. But, from a single instance, to take a character, is hardly allowable. To be able to see only one disagreeable object amongst several more fair and equally obvious, argues, indeed, to use this gentleman's own expressions, no large thought or comprehensive views. ——If ever men were qualified for acting the part of legislators, these were they.——And whoever will excel as such, must copy after them in the main of their conduct.

[45] Cromwell entered the house, and put a period, for a time, to the commonwealth.] "Many republicks," says an excellent writer, "have, with length of time, fallen back into despotick governments. This seems to be a calamity that inevitably happens to every free government sooner or later. And, indeed, how can it perpetually resist every thing that saps and supplants? How can it always check the ambition of those great men whom it produces, and harbours in its bosom? How can it always watch against

[a] See Isaiah Puffendorf's Observations on the Resolution of the last Swedish diet, &c. in the Appendix to Keysler's Travels, vol. IV. p. 51. and Basnage's Annals of the United-Provinces, vol. I. p. 241. [b] History of Great Britain, vol. II. p. 32. Compare this with Ludlow, vol. II. p. 453. and the quotation from Warburton in the note 46.

authority of the commonwealth of England. It

the dark and secret practices and machinations of its neighbours, or against the corruption of its own members, while interest prevails in the world over every other motive? How should it expect always to come off with success in the wars it must needs undertake and support for its security? or prevent those dangerous conjunctures, those critical and decisive moments, when its liberty is at stake, or those unforeseen accidents that animate and favour the wicked and audacious? If any armies are commanded by timid and unskilful generals, it falls a prey to any enemies; if they are headed by bold and successful commanders, these will be as dangerous in times of peace, as they were useful and beneficial during the war. There are few, if any republicks, but have risen from the abyss of tyranny to freedom, and from thence have sunk again into the dregs of servitude. The same Athenians, who, in the times of Demosthenes, provoked and insulted Philip of Macedon, crouched to Alexander. The Romans, who abhorred royalty, and expelled their kings, suffered, some ages after, the most horrible oppression and cruelties from their emperors. And the same Englishmen who rebelled against, imprisoned, and beheaded Charles I. submissively bore the galling yoke of a protector[a]." I have already observed that the victory at Worcester, so fatal to the affairs of Charles II. probably inspired Cromwell with the ambition of lording it over his masters, and seizing the sovereignty. Flushed with success the brave and ambitious aspire higher and higher, and dare adventure on the boldest things. Hence the danger of continuing a general long in supreme command, in free states. Immediately after this important event, Cromwell seemed determined to give the law. He used, however, great precaution. Though he had all possible honours paid him by the parliament and the city of London, yet he carried himself with much affability and seeming humility,

[a] Anti-Machiavel, p. 97. 8vo. Lond. 1741.

is not to be wondered that this action was looked

" and in all his discourses about the business of Worcester, would seldom mention any thing of himself, but of the gallantry of the officers and soldiers, and gave (as was due) all the glory of the action unto God[a]."——But, if we may believe Ludlow, this was mere affectation. He was, in reality, " so much elevated with that success, that Mr. Hugh Peters, as he since told me, took so much notice of it, as to say in confidence to a friend upon the road, in his return from Worcester, that Cromwell would make himself king[b]." Indeed, very soon after his return to London, " he desired a meeting with divers members of parliament, and some chief officers of the army, at the speaker's house; and a great many being there, he proposed to them, that now the old king being dead, and his son being defeated, he held it necessary to come to a settlement of the nation. And, in order thereunto, he had requested this meeting, that they together might consider and advise what was fit to be done, and to be presented to the parliament." The questions at this meeting were, in what way this settlement was desired, whether of an absolute republic, or with any mixture of monarchy? and, if the latter, in whom that power should be placed?——" In this conference the lawyers were generally for a mix'd monarchical government, and many were for the duke of Gloucester to be made king; but Cromwell still put off that debate, and came off to some other point; and, in conclusion, after a long debate, the company parted without coming to any result at all, only Cromwell discovered by this meeting the inclinations of the persons that spake, for which he fished, and made use of what he then discerned[c]." In November, 1652, Cromwell met Whitlock in St. James's Park, and entered into a conference with him concerning the dangerous condition they were then in, and how to make good their station, as he expressed it.——After taking notice of the factions and

[a] Whitlock, p. 509. [b] Vol. II. p. 447. [c] Whitlock, p. 516

upon by the friends of the parliament as base

murmurings of the army, their distaste against the parliament, whose actions he greatly censured, as well as many of their persons, and the impossibility of keeping them within the bounds of justice, law, or reason, as they were the supreme power of the nation, and liable to no account or controul; he added, "that, unless there be some authority and power so full and high, as to restrain and keep things in better order, and that may be a check to these exorbitances, it will be impossible in human reason to prevent our ruin." Whitlock spoke in vindication of the parliament, as much, I suppose, as he thought he might do with safety, and Oliver resting unsatisfied, he said, "We ourselves have acknowledged them the supream power, and taken our commissions and authority in the highest concernments from them, and how to restrain and curb them after this, it will be hard to find out a way for it." Hereupon Cromwell plainly asked, "What if a man should take upon him to be a king?" One may, I think, fairly conclude from hence, that he had, for some time, thought of such a thing, and was determined to be master. Whitlock gave him honestly his advice against carrying such a project into execution, and proposed his treating with the king of Scots as the surest means to provide for his own and the nation's safety. Cromwell was not well pleased with the expedient, as Whitlock judged from his countenance and carriage, and therefore broke off, and went to other company[a]. Possibly he was not wrong in rejecting the proposal.——The next month the scene began to open. "The parliament were very busy in debate of several acts of parliament under consideration, but very little being brought to effect by them, the soldiers grumbled at their delays, and there began to be ill blood between them; the general and his officers pressed the putting a period to their sitting, which they promised to do, but were slow in that business[b]."

[a] Whitlock, p. 548. [b] Id. p. 551.

"And Cromwell, with the other grandees, now began to assume to themselves all the honour of the past actions, and of the conquests by them atchieved; scarce owning the parliament and their assistance and provision for them; but taxing and censuring the members of parliament for injustice, and delay of business, and for seeking to prolong their power, and promote their private interest, and to satisfy their own ambition. With these and many others the like censures (continues my author) they endeavoured to calumniate the parliament, and judge them guilty of those crimes whereof themselves were faulty, not looking into their own actions, nor perceiving their own defaults; yet censuring the actions and proceedings of the parliament very opprobriously.——The drift of Cromwell and his officers was to put an end to this parliament, which many wondered at, and sought to dissuade him from it upon all opportunities as far as it was thought convenient, and that they might not appear desirous to continue their own power, and sitting in parliament, whereof they had cause to be sufficiently weary. Neither could it be clearly foreseen, that their design was to rout the present power, and to set up themselves; against the which they were advised, as pulling down the foundation of their own interest and power, and the way to weaken themselves, and hazard both their cause and persons. Yet still they seemed zealous upon their common pretences of right and justice and publick liberty, to put a period to this parliament, and that, if the parliament would not shortly do it themselves, that then the soldiers must do it[a]."——Accordingly, on the 20th of April, 1653, the parliament not having put a period to themselves immediately, as Cromwell had desired, he was so enraged thereat, "that he commanded some of the officers of the army to fetch a party of soldiers, with whom he marched to the house, and led a file of musqueteers in with him; the rest he placed at the door of the house, and in the lobby before it. In this manner entering the house, he, in a furious manner, bid the

[a] Whitlock, p. 550.

speaker leave his chair, told the house, that they had sat long enough, unless they had done more good; that some of them were whore-masters, looking then towards Mr. Henry Martyn and Sir Peter Wentworth. That others of them were drunkards, and some corrupt and unjust men, and scandalous to the profession of the Gospel, and that it was not fit they should sit as a parliament any longer, and desired them to go away. The speaker not stirring from his seat, colonel Harrison, who sat near the chair, rose up and took him by the arm to remove him from his seat, which, when the speaker saw, he left the chair. Some of the members rose up to answer Cromwell's speech, but he would suffer none to speak but himself, which he did with so much arrogance in himself, and reproach to his fellow-members, that some of his privadoes were ashamed of it; but he and his officers and party would have it so: and, among all the parliament men, of whom many wore swords, and would sometimes brag high, not one man offered to draw his sword against Cromwell, or to make the least resistance against him; but all of them tamely departed the house. He bid one of the soldiers to take away that fool's bauble, the mace; and staid himself to see all the members out of the house, himself the last of them, and then caused the doors of the house to be shut up. Thus was this great parliament, which had done so great things, wholly at this time routed by those whom they had set up, and that took their commissions and authority from them; nor could they, in the least, justify any action they had done, or one drop of blood they had spilt, but by this authority. Yet now the servants rose against the masters, and most ingratefully, and disingenuously, as well as rashly and imprudently, they dissolved that power by which themselves were created officers and soldiers; and now they took what they designed, all power into their own hands. All honest and prudent indifferent men were highly distasted at this unworthy action.——Thus it pleased God, that this assembly, famous through the world for its undertakings, actions and successes, having subdued all their enemies, were themselves overthrown and

and ingrateful, though Oliver attempted to

ruined by their servants; and those whom they had raised, now pulled down their masters. An example never to be forgotten, and scarce to be paralleled in any story, by which all persons may be instructed how uncertain and subject to change all worldly affairs are, how apt to fall when we think them highest[a]." To the above account from Mr. Whitlock, who is universally allowed to write impartially, we must add that Cromwell, having interrupted the parliament in the morning, "came in the afternoon to the council of state (who were assembled to do their duty at the usual place) accompanied with major-general Lambert and colonel Harrison, and told them at his entrance, Gentlemen, if you are met here as private persons, you shall not be disturbed; but if as a council of state, this is no place for you; and since you can't but know what was done at the house in the morning, so take notice, that the parliament is dissolved. To this serjeant Bradshaw answered; Sir, we have heard what you did at the house in the morning, and before many hours all England will hear it: but, Sir, you are mistaken to think that the parliament is dissolved; for no power under heaven can dissolve them but themselves; therefore take you notice of that. Something more was said to the same purpose by Sir Arthur Haselrig, Mr. Love, and Mr. Scot; and then the council of state, perceiving themselves to be under the same violence, departed[b]."———There is no account of this remarkable day's transactions in the Journals. There was an entry of some kind or other made, but it was expunged by order of parliament, January 7th, 1659. In Mercurius Politicus, which was published by authority at that time, there is an article dated Westminster, April 20, in the following words: "The lord general delivered in parliament divers reasons wherefore a present period should be put to the sitting of this parliament; and it was accordingly

[a] Whitlock, p. 554. and Ludlow, vol. II. p. 455.

[b] Ludlow, vol. II. p. 461.

justify it, as well as his apologists[46]. The

done; the speaker and the members all departing. The grounds of which proceedings will (its probable) be shortly made publick." Writers of Gazettes in all ages and countries are pretty much the same.——If the reader will turn to Mr. Hume, he may see this story of the dissolution of the parliament highly embellished[a]. It may well enough be thought a transaction of this nature must have been variously censured. The common people, delighted with change, were far enough from being displeased; the Cavaliers and the other Royalists with pleasure saw those men displaced from that power they judged they had no right to assume; the Dutch were in hopes of obtaining peace on better terms than those steady and resolute men ever would willingly have given them; whilst the true Republicans could not help crying out on Cromwell, who had interrupted the parliament in their career of glory. Mr. Whitlock's censure we have just seen. Another author thus exclaims against him.——"His falseness and ingratitude," says he, "appeared superlatively in turning out his masters, who had not only advanced him, but made themselves more odious by their partial affection towards him, and in his doing it with the breach of a positive negative oath, taken once a year, when made a counsellor of state, besides the breach of all other engagements, voluntary imprecations, protestations and oaths, taken frequently upon all occasions in discourse and declarations; and yet further (when he had turned them out, and left them void of protection, and exposed them to the fury of the people) in pursuing them with false reproachful declarations, enough to have stirred up the rude multitude to have destroyed them, wherever they had met them[b]." Mr. Ludlow talks much in the same strain. Cromwell's defence will be found in the following note.

[46] Oliver attempted to justify it, as well as his apologists.]

[a] History of Great Britain, vol. II. p. 44.

[b] The World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell, p. 15. 4to. Lond. 1668.

grounds and reasons of this proceeding being

On the twenty-second of April, two days after the interruption or dissolution of the parliament, a declaration was published in the name of the lord-general and his council of officers, shewing the grounds and reasons thereof. In this the neglect of the parliament, in settling a due liberty in reference both to civil and spiritual things, is lamented, and a desire of perpetuating themselves in the supreme government asserted. "For which purpose," says the general and his officers, "the corrupt party [the majority] long opposed, and frequently declared themselves against having a new representative: and when they saw themselves necessitated to take that bill into consideration, they resolved to make use of it to recruit the house with persons of the same spirit and temper: and the better to effect this, divers petitions preparing from several counties for the continuance of this parliament were encouraged, if not set on foot by many of them."——They go on to say, "That, having a meeting with about twenty members of parliament, they laid before them their judgment, that the supream authority should be by the parliament devolved upon known persons, men fearing God, and of approved integrity, and the government of the commonwealth committed unto them for a time, as the most hopeful way to encourage and countenance all God's people, reform the law, and administer justice impartially." This, it seems, found no acceptance: but, instead thereof, "it was offered, that the way was to continue still this present parliament, as being that from which we might reasonably expect all good things. And this being vehemently insisted upon, did much confirm us in our apprehensions, that not any love to a representative, but the making use thereof to recruit, and so perpetuate themselves, was their aim. They being plainly dealt with about this, and told, that neither the nation, the honest interest, nor we ourselves, would be deluded by such dealings, they did agree to meet again the next day in the afternoon for mutual satisfaction, it being consented

published, they were approved by the chief

to by the members present, that endeavours should be used, that nothing in the mean time should be done in parliament that might exclude or frustrate the proposals above mentioned. Notwithstanding this, the next morning the parliament did make more haste than usual, in carrying on their said act, being helped on therein by some of the persons engaged to us the night before; none of them which were then present endeavouring to oppose the same: and being ready to put the main question for consummating the said act, whereby our aforesaid proposals would have been rendered void, and the way of bringing them into a fair and full debate in parliament obstructed; for preventing whereof, and all the sad and evil consequences, which must, upon the grounds aforesaid, have ensued, and whereby, at one blow, the interest of all honest men, and of this glorious cause, had been in danger to be laid in the dust, and these nations embroiled in new troubles, at a time when our enemies abroad are watching all advantages against us, and some of them actually engaged in a war with us: we have been necessitated, though with much reluctancy, to put an end to this parliament; which yet we have done (we hope) out of an honest heart, preferring this cause above our names, lives, families, or interests, how dear soever; with clear intentions and real purposes of heart, to call to the government persons of approved fidelity and honest, believing, that as none wise will expect to gather grapes of thorns, so good men will hope, that, if persons so qualified be chosen, the fruits of a just and righteous reformation, so long prayed and wished for, will, by the blessing of God, be in due time obtained, to the refreshing of all those good hearts who have been panting after those things[a]."——Mr. Maidston, steward of the household to Cromwell, a member of his parliaments, and well acquainted

[a] Declaration of the lord general, &c. London, printed by Henry Hills and Thomas Bewster, printers to the army. 4to. 1653.

officers in the fleet and army, and the general

with his actions, speaking of his return to London from the victory at Worcester, adds, " He had not long continued here, before it was strongly imprest upon him by those, to whom he had no reason to be utterly incredulous, and strengthned by his own observation, that the persons then called the parliament of the commonwealth of England, as from whom he had derived his authority, and by virtue whereof he had fought so many holy men in Scotland into their graves, were not such as were spirited to carry the good interest to an end, wherein he and they had jeoparded all that was of concern to them in this world; and I wish cordially, that there had not been too great a ground for those allegations. The result of them, after many debates betwixt the members then sitting, and the general, with some who joined with him, was the dissolution of that parliament by a military force since called by a softer word, interruption[a]."——These were the pleas in the defence of the dissolution by those who had accomplished it. Since this others have taken up the argument, and in behalf of Cromwell observe, " That the presbyterian party being expelled the house, the small remainder was only a junto which derived their authority from the power of the sword; their votes and acts were no farther laws than the sword constrained obedience to them; they were only continued in their seats by Cromwell for a present convenience; and therefore as they were only countenanced and supported by the power of the sword, which was then in the hands of Cromwell, they were to be looked upon as no other than a party set up by him, and owing their authority to him. So that when they began to extend that authority beyond its limits, and assumed to themselves a democratical power in opposition to him from whom they derived their subsistence, they were rather rebels to Cromwell, than Cromwell to them; and as he set them up in hopes that

[a] Thurloe, vol. I. p. 765.

thereupon proceeded to nominate a new council

they might be serviceable to him for the good of the nation, might pull them down again, when he saw them exceeding their commission. Now whether the design for the bringing of which to pass, Cromwell fixed them in their seats *pro tempore*, were good or bad, is not the question: but whether they who were no lawful authority, but only acted under the safeguard of another unlawful authority, had power to make any act good or evil, as it suited with their interest, or opposed their designs. For if they had not, which is most probable, Cromwell is never a jot the more impious, the more perjured, the more villain, because they call him so. For being a junto of his own erecting, upon such and such considerations, he might, without any fear of those reproaches, send them a grazing when he found them deviating from those ends for which he had suffered them to keep their places [a]."——Mr. Rapin is an advocate on the same side of the question. "The republicans," says he, "were enraged against Cromwell, and deemed him the most perfidious of men. This is not very strange, since he had wrested from that parliament the sovereign power, seized by these republicans without any lawful authority. But what was this parliament? It was an assembly of independents, anabaptists, fanaticks, enthusiasts, and others of no religion, who under colour of establishing a free commonwealth, held the nation in servitude; who, to confirm their own authority, had treated their fellow members with unheard of violence, and dared to imbrue their hands in the blood of the late king, at a time when he had almost granted every thing that was desired; who, in short, were industrious to break the union of the church, to subvert all religion, or introduce the most ridiculous and extravagant one. Was it therefore more eligible for England to be governed by these men, than by a Cromwell [b]." These

[a] Modest Vindication of Oliver Cromwell, p. 40.

[b] Rapin's History of England, vol. II. p. 601. fol. Lond. 1733.

of state, and to call a parliament. This was

things are all easily spoken. But whoever will consider, that Cromwell in this affair was destitute of the plea of necessity and self-preservation; that he had received very great favours from, and had actually sworn to be true and faithful to the commonwealth; that he had approved of their actions, and zealously concurred with them in the most exceptionable of them; that he charges them not with the ill things done, but only some good things omitted, a charge to which every government on earth is, and always will be liable: I say, whoever considers these things, and withal calls to mind that they were about to pass an act for their own dissolution, and for the calling and settling of future and successive parliaments[a], even at the time Cromwell used this force, will, I am persuaded, not be over hasty in his justification. Of this, however, the considerate and unprejudiced reader must be the judge.

Mr. Harrington, after censuring the form of government of the commonwealth, "as an oligarchy," because it was a "council without a ballance," or as he before expresses it, "A parliament consisting of a single assembly elected by the people, and invested with the whole power of the government, without any covenants, conditions or orders whatsoever:" I say, after thus censuring the form of that government, proceeds to take notice of its dissolution by Cromwell in the following terms: "I come now to the army," says he, "of which the most victorious captain and incomparable patriot Olphaus Megaletor was now general: who being a much greater master of that art, whereof I have made a rough draught in these preliminaries, had so sad reflections upon the ways and proceedings of the parliament, as cast him upon books, and all other means of diversion, among which he happened upon this place of Machiavel: Thrice happy is that people which chances to have a man able to give them such a government at once,

[a] Journal, Ap. 13, 1653.

surnamed the Little, or Praisegod Barebone's

as without alteration may secure them of their liberties; seeing it is certain, that Lacedemon, in observing the laws of Lycurgus, continued about eight hundred years without any dangerous tumult or corruption. My lord general (as it is said of Themistocles, that he could not sleep for the glory obtained by Miltiades at the battle of Maratho) took so new and deep impression at these words of the much greater glory of Lycurgus, that being on this side assaulted with the emulation of his illustrious object, on the other with the misery of the nation, which seemed (as it were ruined by his victory) to cast herself at his feet, he was almost wholly deprived of his natural rest, until the debate he had within himself came to a firm resolution, that the greatest advantages of a commonwealth are, first, that the legislator should be one man: and secondly, that the government should be made altogether, or at once. For the first, it is certain, saith Machiavel, that a commonwealth is seldom or never well turned or constituted, except it have been the work of one man: for which cause a wise legislator, and one whose mind is firmly set, not upon private but the publick interest, not upon his posterity but upon his country, may justly endeavour to get the sovereign power into his own hands; nor shall any man who is master of reason, blame such extraordinary means as in that case shall be necessary, the end proving no other, than the constitution of a well ordered commonwealth. The reason of this is demonstrable; for the ordinary means not failing, the commonwealth hath no need of a legislator; but the ordinary means failing, there is no recourse to be had but to such as are extraordinary [a]." This was written, I suppose, to stimulate Cromwell's ambition, and excite him by the desire of real glory to establish a perfect commonwealth, and to "launch immediately forth into an empire of laws." But he had no such intention as this, and therefore cannot be

[a] Harrington's Commonwealth of Oceana, p. 49. fol. Lond. 1656.

parliament[47], the subject of ridicule, reproach

entitled to this vindication. To come to a conclusion—Whatever crime the general was guilty of in this affair, it certainly was a proof of his superior ability. For, as Dr. Warburton observes, "Cromwell seemeth to be distinguished in the most eminent manner, with regard to his abilities, from all other great and wicked men, who have overturned the liberties of their country. The times in which others succeeded in this attempt, were such as saw the spirit of liberty suppressed and stifled by a general luxury and venality; but Cromwell subdued his country, when this spirit was at its height, by a successful struggle against court-oppression; and while it was conducted and supported by a set of the greatest geniuses for government the world ever saw [a]." What an idea is here given of the capacity of this extraordinary man! What an eulogium on his masters whom he displaced, and ruled over!

[47] He constituted a council of state, and summoned Barebone's parliament.] The parliament being dissolved by Cromwell, no visible power was in being, but the soldiery. This must have been an alarming consideration. To prevent the ill effects of it, a declaration was set forth in the general's name in the following words: "Whereas the parliament being dissolved, persons of approved fidelity and honesty, are (according to the late declaration of the 22d of April last) to be called from the several parts of this commonwealth to the supream authority; and although effectual proceedings are and have been had for perfecting these resolutions; yet some convenient time being required for the assembling of those persons, it hath been found necessary for preventing the said mischiefs and inconveniences which may arise in the mean-while to the publick affairs, that a councel of state be constituted, to take care of, and intend the peace, safety and present management of the

[a] Warburton's Notes on Pope's Essay on Man, in his Works, vol. III. p. 89. Lond. 8vo. 1751.

and censure, from men who knew little of its real

affairs of this commonwealth: which being settled accordingly, the same is hereby declared and published, to the end all persons may take notice thereof, and in their several places and stations demean themselves peaceably, giving obedience to the laws of the nation as heretofore: in the exercise and administration whereof, as endeavours shall be used that no oppression or wrong be done to the people, so a strict account will be required of all such as shall do any thing to endanger the publick peace and quiet upon any pretence whatsoever[a]." This bears date April 30, 1653. In this high tone spoke Cromwell, who now, having all power in his hands, printed an order for the continuance of the assessment for the payment of the army and the navy for six months[b], after the rate of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds a month, and issued out warrants for several persons to appear at Whitehall, and receive from him the supreme power. In the journal of the house of commons, July 4th, 1653, we have the following account of the calling this assembly.——" Several letters having issued, under the hand and seal of the lord general, directed unto divers persons, in this form; Forasmuch as, upon the dissolution of the late parliament, it became necessary that the peace, safety, and good government of this commonwealth should be provided for; in order whereunto, divers persons, fearing God, and of approved fidelity and honesty, are by myself, with the advice of my council of officers, nominated; to whom the great charge and trust of so weighty affairs is to be committed; and having good assurance of the love to, and courage for God, and interest for his cause, and of the good people of this commonwealth: I, Oliver Cromwell, captain-general and commander in chief of all the armies and forces raised, and to be raised in this commonwealth, do hereby summon and require you (being one of the said persons nominated) personally to be and appear at the

[a] Mercurius Politicus, No. 151. p. 2410. [b] Id. No. 157. p. 2506.

character, or cared not what they said about it.

council-chamber in Whitehall, within the city of Westminster, upon the fourth day of July next ensuing the date hereof, then and there to take upon you the said trust, unto which you are hereby called and appointed, to serve as a member for the county of : and hereof you are not to fail. Given under my hand and seal the sixth day of June, 1653.

" O. CROMWELL.

" This day there was a great appearance of those persons (to whom the letters were directed) in the council-chamber at Whitehall; when the lord-general declared unto them the grounds and end of calling them; and delivered unto them an instrument, in writing, under his hand and seal; and afterwards left them." In the Mercurius Politicus there is an article from Whitehall of the same date, in which it is said, " That the gentlemen that were called to the supream authority, met, to the number of above one hundred and twenty, in the council-chamber, and being set round about the table, the lord-general standing by the window opposite to the middle of the table, and having as many of the army officers as the room could well contain, on his right hand and on his left; his lordship made a very grave, christian and reasonable speech, and exhortation to them; wherein he briefly recounted the many great and wondrous mercies of God towards this nation;——he set forth also the progress of affairs since the famous victory at Worcester, wherein that arch-enemy of this nation was wholly subdued. He likewise laid down the actings of the army thereupon, together with the grounds and necessity of their dissolving the parliament, which his excellency declared to be for the preservation of this cause, and the interest of all honest men who have been ingaged therein. Moreover he very amply held forth the clearness of the call given to the present members, to take upon them the supream authority; and did from the Scriptures exhort them to their duties, and encourage them therein; desiring that a tenderness might

——But they soon resigned the power back

be used towards all godly and conscientious persons, of what judgment, or under what form soever. Which being ended, his lordship produced an instrument under his own hand and seal, whereby he did, with the advice of his officers, devolve and intrust the supream authority and government of this commonwealth, into the hands of the persons then met, who, or any forty of them, are to be held and acknowledged the supream authority of the nation; unto whom all persons within the same, and the territories thereunto belonging, are to yield obedience and subjection. And they are not to sit longer than the third of November, 1654. Three months before their dissolution, they are to make choice of other persons to succeed them, who are not to sit longer than a twelvemonth, but it is left to them to take care for a succession in government. Which instrument being delivered to the persons aforesaid, his lordship commended them to the grace of God[a]."———Mr. Rous was called to the chair in this assembly, and it was "Resolved that some members of the house should be sent to the lord-general to desire him to afford his presence and assistance in the house, as a member thereof; *viz.* Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Sir Gilbert Pickering, Mr. Strickland, colonel Sidenham, Mr. Mayer, Mr. Carew, colonel Bennet, colonel Jones. And the question being propounded, that major-general Lambert, major-general Harrison, major-general Desborow, and colonel Thomlinson, be, and are hereby, called to sit as members of this house; it passed in the affirmative[b]."——So oddly were the members of this parliament chosen!—Mr. Maidstone, speaking concerning them, says, "The lord-general by his authority, (which was but military) summons one hundred persons out of all parts of the nation (with competent indifferency and equality) to represent the nation, and invests them with legislative authority. They meet and accept it, assume the title of parliament, and sit

[a] Mercurius Politicus, No. 160. p. 2563. And Thurloe, vol. I. p. 338.
[b] Journal.

into his hands, and thereby gave him an

in the house of commons, and enact sundry laws; but in a short time, made it appear to all considering and unprejudiced men, that they were *huic negotio impares, non obstante* their godliness; of which the more judicious of them being sensible, contrived the matter so as to dissolve themselves by an act of their own, and resolve their authority, whence they first derived it, upon the general[a]." Cromwell's own account of the proceedings of these men is severe enough, though it be not expressed in the clearest manner. "It was thought then," says he, "that men of our judgment, that had fought in the wars, and were all of a piece upon that account, why surely these men will hit it, and them men will do it to the purpose whatever can be desired, truly we did think, and I did think so, the more to blame of, and such a company of men were chose and did proceed in action, and truly this was the naked truth, that the issue was not answerable to the simplicity and honesty of the design. What the issue of that meeting would have been, and was feared, upon which the sober men of that meeting did withdraw, and came and returned my power as far as they could, they did actually the greater part of them into my own hands, professing and believing that the issue of that meeting would have been the subversion of your laws, and of all the liberties of this nation, the destruction of the ministers of this nation. In a word, the confusion of all things, and instead of order, to set up the judicial law of Moses, in abrogation of all our administrations, to have been administred the judicial law of Moses, *pro hic & nunc*, according to the wisdom of any man that would have interpreted the text, this way or that way[b]." ——Lord Clarendon assures us, "That there were amongst them divers of the quality and degree of gentlemen, and who had estates, and such a proportion of credit and reputation, as could consist with the guilt they had contracted. But much the major part of them consisted of inferiour persons.

[a] Thurloe, vol. I. p. 765. [b] Speech, Ap. 21, 1657

opportunity of assuming and exercising the

of no quality or name, artificers of the meanest trades, known only by their gifts in praying and preaching, which was now practised by all degrees of men, but scholars, throughout the kingdom. In which number, that there may a better judgment be made of the rest, it will not be amiss to name one, from whom that parliament itself was afterwards denominated, who was Praise-God (that was his christian name) Barebone, a leather-seller in Fleet-street, from whom (he being an eminent speaker in it) it was afterwards called Praise-God Barebone's [a] parliament. In a word, they were generally a pack of weak senseless fellows, fit only to bring the name, and reputation of parliaments, lower than it was yet [b]." Mr. Hume speaks with like contempt of this assembly, and is as severe as Clarendon himself in his account of their proceedings.——His lordship afterwards adds, "And these men thus brought together, continued in this capacity near six months, to the amazement, and even mirth of the people. In which time they never entered into any grave and serious debate, that might tend to any settlement, but generally expressed great sharpness against all learning, out of which they thought the clergy had grown, and still would grow. There were now no bishops for them to be angry with; they had already reduced all that order to the lowest distress. But their quarrel was against all who had called themselves ministers, and who, by being called so, received tythes, and respect from their neighbours. They looked upon the function

[a] Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper was much more eminent and active; as appears from the journals. From his transactions in this and Cromwell's after parliaments, Dryden took occasion to characterize him in his early years as——

A vermin, wriggling in th'usurper's ear;
Bart'ring his venal wit for sums of gold,
He cast himself into the saint-like mould;
Groan'd, sigh'd and pray'd, while godliness was gain;
The loudest bagpipe of the squeaking train. MEDAL.

[b] Clarendon, vol. VI. p. 482.

supreme power of the nation, under the

itself to be antichristian, and the persons to be burthensome to the people, and the requiring and payment of tythes to be absolute Judaism, and they thought fit they should be abolished together; and that there might not for the time to come be any race of people who might revive those pretences, they proposed that all lands belonging to the universities, and colleges in those universities, might be sold, and the monies that should arise thereby, be disposed for the publick service, and to ease the people from the payment of taxes and contributions[a]." This is very virulent as usual; and as usual has a great mixture of falsehood. Many of Cromwell's after councellors were in this assembly, such as Sir Anthony Ashley Cooper, Mr. Strickland, Sir Charles Wolsely: many of the chief officers of the army and navy, as Blake, Moncke, Montagu, afterwards earl of Sandwich, besides the general and other officers mentioned above. What mirth they afforded I know not. They were treated as the supreme authority of the nation, and had the most humble applications made to them from the chief cavaliers, such as the earl of Worcester, the earl and countess of Derby, the lord Mansfield, the earl of Shrewsbury, and many others, whose petitions are mentioned in the journals; not to take notice of their being solemnly addressed to by sovereign princes, and their sending ambassadors abroad: whether they ever entered into any grave or serious debate which might tend to a settlement, the reader will be able to judge, when he is informed, that for the right ordering and settling of the business of the house, they appointed committees for the affairs of Ireland and Scotland; for the law; the army; for inspecting the treasuries, and regulating of officers and salaries; for the business of trade and corporations; for the poor, and regulating commissions of the peace; for considering of public debts, and to receive accusations of bribery, public frauds, and breach of public

[a] Clarendon, vol. VI. p. 484.

title of Lord Protector of the common-

trust; and for the advancement of learning[a]. And whoever will look into their journals will find that they were employed about points of the highest national concernment, such as the abolishing the court of chancery on account of its expensiveness and delays; the forming a new body of the law; the uniting Scotland with England, regulating marriages, and vesting the solemnization and cognizance of them in the civil magistrate; together with other things of moment. It no way appears that they intended to set up the judicial law of Moses, or sell the lands belonging to the universities, and therefore the imputation of such intentions to them, must be deemed unjust and abusive. Tythes[b] from the beginning had engaged their attention; but that they had no design to abolish them, is plain from the following report made by Mr. Sadler, a few days before their resignation, from the committee for tythes.——Resolved, "That it be presented to the parliament, that all such as are or shall be approved for publick preachers of the gospel in the publick meeting places, shall have and enjoy the maintenance already settled by law; and such other encouragement, as the parliament hath already appointed, or hereafter shall appoint: and that where any scruple payment of tythes, the three next justices of the peace, or two of them, shall, upon complaint, call the parties concerned before them; and, by the oaths of lawful witnesses, shall duly apportion the value of the said tythes, to be paid either in money, or land by them to be set out according to the said value, to be held and enjoyed by him that was to have the said tythes: and in case such apportioned

[a] Journal, 20th July, 1653. [b] In the manuscript, belonging formerly to colonel Saunders, quoted in note 42, it is proposed, "That tythes be wholly taken away, the parishioners from whom they are due, paying in lieu thereof to the state where they are not appropriate, and to the owners where they are, moderate and certain rent-charge out of their lands: the ministers to be maintained, either by the voluntary contributions of such as desire to hear them, or else by some settled pensions out of the public treasury."

wealth of England, Scotland and Ireland.

value be not duly paid, or enjoyed, according to the order of the said justices, the tythes shall be paid in kind, and shall be recovered in any court of record. Upon hearing and considering what hath been offered to this committee touching propriety in tythes of incumbents, rectors, possessors of donatives, or propriate tythes, it is the opinion of this committee, and resolved to be so reported to the parliament, that the said persons have a legal propriety in tythes[a]." So that a regulation in tythes we see was the thing intended, which yet raised a clamour against, and fixed a character on this parliament, as enemies to the ministry, to learning, and every thing valuable in society. Such is the hatred of ecclesiastics against all who would reform their laws and customs, however unjust and tyrannical. It is not forgotten how zealous these men were against the Quakers' tythe bill in the year 1736. A bill founded on strict justice and perfect equity, and opposed through interest, prejudice, or worse views, as was then shewn, to a demonstration, in one of the best written tracts of the age, by lord Hervey[b]. ——The parliament soon after resigned back their power into the hands of Cromwell. The account given of it in the journals is as follows: Monday, 12th of December, 1653. "It being moved in the house this day, that the sitting of this parliament any longer, as now constituted, will not be for the good of the commonwealth; and that therefore it was requisite to deliver up unto the lord general Cromwell the powers which they received from him; and that motion being seconded by several other members; the house rose: and the speaker, with many of the members of the house, departed out of the house to Whitehall; where they, being the greater number of the members sitting in parliament, did, by a writing under their hands, resign unto his excellency their said powers: and Mr. Speaker, attended

[a] Journal, Dec. 2, 1653. [b] Answer to the Country Parson's Plea against the Quakers' Tythe Bill, 8vo. Lond. 1736.

The grounds and reasons of this new settle-

with the members, did present the same to his excellency, accordingly." The following extract from a letter of Bussy Mansel, Esq. one of the members of this parliament, to his brother Edward Pritchard, Esq. will give us a clearer idea of this affair. "Since I writ my last to you, and some days before, wee were about a report from the committee of tieths, about sending commissioners to the several circuits to cast out all that they judged to be unfit to be ministers, and to put in all they judged to be fit upon the last day of the weeke. This power and its appurtenances came to the question, and it was carried in the negative. Hereupon those gentlemen, that were for the report, came sooner than their usual hower upon Munday to the house, and there spoke of the unlikelihood of doing good, and instanced in several things, that they judged evill, that was don; and therefore desired that they would goe, and returne that power they had from whence they received it; and thereupon about forty, and the speaker went to the generall, and did accordingly. Twenty seven stayed in the house a little time speaking to one another, and going to speak to the Lord in prayer, coll. Goff and lieut. coll. White came into the house, and desired them that were there to come out. Some answered, that they were there by a call from the generall, and would not come out by their desire, unless they had a command from him. They returned noe answer, but went out, and fetched two files of musquetiers, and did as good as force them out; amongst whom I was an unworthy one[a]."——Ludlow, speaking of this resignation, attributes it to the ambition and artifice of Cromwell in the following words: "The perfidious Cromwell having forgot his most solemn professions and former vows, as well as the blood and treasure that had been spent in this contest, thought it high time to take off the masque, and resolved to sacrifice all our victories and deliverances to his

[a] Thurloe, vol. I. p. 637.

ment will deserve the attention of the curious

pride and ambition, under colour of taking upon him the office as it were of a high constable, in order to keep the peace of the nation, and to restrain men from cutting one another's throats. One difficulty yet remained to obstruct his design, and that was the convention, which he had assembled and invested with power, as well as earnestly sollicited to reform the law, and reduce the clergy to a more evangelical constitution. And having sufficiently alarmed those interests, and shown them their danger from the convention, he informs them farther, that they cannot be ignorant of the confusion that all things are brought into by the immoderate zeal of those in authority, and to what extremities matters might be reduced, if permitted to go on; possibly, said he, to the utter extirpation of law and gospel from amongst us; and therefore advised that they would join their interests to his, in order to prevent this inundation. His proposition was readily embraced by the corrupt part of the lawyers and clergy, and so he became their protector, and they the humble supporters of his tyranny. But that his usurpation might seem less horrid, he so contrived it by his instruments, that some of the convention must openly manifest their disapprobation of their own proceedings, and under divers specious pretences put a period to their sitting[a]."——When the instrument of resignation signed as above mentioned in the journal, was brought to Cromwell, it is said he lifted up his eyes with astonishment; and, with no less seeming modesty, refused to receive it; but, at length, through the importunity of major-general Lambert and others, representing to him that the welfare of the nation absolutely required his acceptance of the parliament's resignation, he thought fit to comply with their request."——Cromwell indeed in a speech made to the ensuing parliament, September 12, 1654, positively affirms in the most solemn

[a] Thurloe, vol. II. p. 471.

reader[48]. But how blameworthy soever the

manner, "That he was so far from having any hand in this project, that he was an absolute stranger to the design, till the speaker, with the major part of the house, came to him with the instrument of their resignation[a]."——For my own part, I much doubt of the strict truth of this. Can it be supposed that his creatures and favourites would have ventured on such a thing without being satisfied of his approbation? Or that the officers would have dared to bring in a file of musquetiers, and in a manner force the non-resigners out of the house, if they had not been well assured that it would be acceptable to him?——But be this as it may, the lord general having the power of the nation thus formally resigned up into his hands, he embraced the opportunity of exercising it in his own name, in order to preserve the peace and secure the laws and religion of the nation as he professed, though possibly the lust of sway might have some small influence on his determination[b].

[48] The grounds and reasons of this new settlement deserve attention.] Cromwell having accepted the parliament's instrument of resignation, called a council of officers and others, who, after several days' consultation, resolved

[a] Parliamentary History, vol. XX. p. 244. In this vol. is the completest account of this Parliament extant. [b] Mr. Hume, in order I suppose to divert the readers, on mentioning Praise-God Barebone, has informed them, that "It was usual for the pretended saints at this time to change their names from Henry, Edward, Anthony, William, which they regarded as heathenish, into others more sanctified and godly: even the New Testament names James, Andrew, &c. were not held in such regard as those borrowed from the Old Testament, Hezekiah, Habbakuk, Joshua, Zorobabel. Sometimes a whole godly sentence was adopted for a name." In proof of this he gives a list of names of a jury in the county of Sussex about this time, on the authority of one Brome, an obscure and inconsiderable writer. This gentleman, however, should have known that this practice, (not of changing their names, as he supposes, but of giving sanctified and godly ones to their children) how ridiculous soever, was in use long before these times; and also that it was not more common then, than it had before been. Cambden [Remains, p. 42. 4to. Lond. 1629.] would have informed him of the one, and the great variety of lists of names still remaining in Thurloe, Scobel, and other collectors, of the other.

protector might have been in the acquisition

that a council should be named, to consist not of more than 21, nor less than 13 persons, and that the general should be chosen lord protector of the three nations. On the 16th of December, 1653, Oliver with great pomp was inaugurated in Westminster-Hall, after having first solemnly sworn to an instrument of government prepared by his council, and others. It is well drawn, and shews much judgment. By it the supreme legislative authority of the commonwealth was placed in one person, and the people assembled in parliament; but the executive was to be in the lord protector, assisted with a council, who should dispose of all magistracy and honor, and have the power of pardons and benefit of forfeitures. In him likewise, with consent of parliament when sitting, was vested the power of the militia, and forces by sea and land, as well as the prerogative of making war and peace. So that Cromwell, who by this instrument was constituted lord protector, was in a manner vested with the old real rights of the English kings, and had the authority conferred on him. But that provision might be made for the people, and their benefit and advantage consulted, it was declared, "That the laws should not be altered, suspended, abrogated, or repealed, or any new law made, nor any tax, charge, or imposition laid upon the people, but by common consent in parliament." Triennial parliaments were also ordained; a new representative, in proportion to the contributions of the respective counties towards the public expence, to the number of 400, together with 30 for Scotland, and the like number for Ireland, enacted; and bills passed in parliament declared to have the force of laws, twenty days after they should be offered to the protector, though his assent was refused. These and many other particulars in favour of the people, are to be found in the instrument of government, by which it plainly appears that despotism was far enough from being the intention of Cromwell and his officers. It must not be omitted, that "A constant yearly revenue was

of his high office; or how wickedly soever

ordained to be raised for maintaining 10,000 horse, and 20,000 foot in England, Scotland and Ireland, for the defence and the security thereof, and also for a convenient number of ships for guarding of the seas; besides 200,000*l. per annum*, for defraying the other necessary charges of administration of justice, and other expences of the government; which revenue was to be raised by the customs, and such other ways and means, as should be agreed upon by the lord protector and the council, and was not to be taken away or diminished, nor the way agreed upon for raising the same altered, but by the consent of the lord protector and the parliament. He was invested also with a power, till the meeting of the first parliament, to raise money for the purposes aforesaid; and also to make laws and ordinances for the peace and welfare of these nations, where it should be necessary; which should be binding and in force, until order should be taken in parliament concerning the same."

On Cromwell's death a protector was to be elected by the council.——This was a bait for the grandees[a].——It may well enough be thought such a change in the government as this could not happen without censure. The army party were, for the most part, addicted to a commonwealth, and many of the most able men in the nation were of the same judgment. These thought they had in vain abolished kingship, if one man must rule over them under what name or title soever, and they could not without indignation behold a man so greatly elevated above them, whom they had so lately seen their equal or inferiour. Nor did they refrain asking who made him protector? or what right he had to the supreme power? It was to these kind of men Cromwell endeavoured to justify himself, and thereby to soften their prejudices, and obtain their concurrence in his views for

[a] But when Oliver's sovereignty was more firmly established, we find in the humble petition and advice of the parliament in 1656, the power of appointing and declaring a person to succeed in the government, was invested in himself alone.

he acquired it, (for his admirers confess he had

his own and the nation's glory. See with what art he talks to them in the following passages.——"I received this resignation" [the late parliament's] says he, "having formerly used my endeavours and persuasions to keep them together; observing their differences, I thought it my duty to give advice to them, that so I might prevail with them for union: but it had the effect I told you, and I had my disappointment. When this was so, we were exceedingly to seek how to settle things for the future. My power again, by this resignation, was as boundless and unlimited as before; all things being subjected to arbitrariness, and myself a person having power over the three nations, boundlesly and unlimited; and upon the matter, all government dissolved, all civil administrations at an end, as will be presently made appear. The gentlemen that undertook to frame this government, did consult divers days together (they being of known integrity and ability) how to frame somewhat that might give us settlement; and they did so: and that I was not privy to their councils, they know it. When they had finished their model in some measure, or made a very good preparation of it, it became communicative. They told me, that except I would undertake the government, they thought things would hardly come to a composure and settlement; but blood and confusion would break in upon us. I denied it again and again, as God and those persons know; not complimentingly, as they also know, and as God knows. I confess, after many arguments, and after the letting of me know that I did not receive any thing that put me into any higher capacity than I was in before; but that it limited me, and bound my hands to act nothing to the prejudice of those nations, without consent of a council, until the parliament, and then limited by the parliament, as the act of government expresseth, I did accept it. I might repeat this again to you, if it were needful; but I think I need not. I was arbitrary in power, having the armies in the three nations under my command; and

faults, and pretend not wholly to exculpate

truly not very ill beloved by them, nor very ill beloved then by the people, by the good people; and I believe I should have been more, if they had known the truth, as things were before God, and in themselves, and before divers of those gentlemen whom I but now mentioned unto you. I did at the intreaty of divers persons of honour and quality, at the intreaty of very many of the chief officers of the army then present, and at their request, I did accept of the place and title of protector; and was in the presence of the commissioners of the great seal, the judges, the lord mayor and aldermen of the city of London; the soldiery, divers gentlemen, citizens, and divers other people and persons of quality, &c. accompanied to Westminster Hall, where I took my oath to this government. This was not done in a corner; it was open and publick. This government hath been exercised by a council, with a desire to be faithful in all things; and, amongst other trusts, to be faithful in calling this parliament.——This is a narrative that discovers to you the series of providence, and of transactions leading me into this condition wherein I now stand [a]." In another of his speeches, he declares, "He undertook the protectorship, not so much out of hope of doing any good, as out of a desire to prevent mischief and evil: and he compares his station to that of a good constable, to keep the peace of the parish [b]."——This renders probable what Burnet relates concerning his speeches to the republican enthusiasts, with whom he had been closely connected, and of whom he had availed himself in his rise to greatness.—"It was no easy thing," says he, "for Cromwell to satisfy those, when he took the power into his own hands; since that looked like a step to kingship, which [John] Goodwin had long represented as the great Antichrist, that hindered Christ's being set on the throne. To these he said, and as some have told

[a] Parliamentary History, vol. XX. p. 355. [b] Speech at Whitehall, Ap. 13, 1657.

him) yet certain it is he rivalled the greatest of

me, with many tears, that he would rather have taken a shepherd's staff than the protectorship, since nothing was more contrary to his genius than a shew of greatness: but he saw it was necessary at that time to keep the nation from falling into extream disorder, and from becoming open to the common enemy: and therefore he only stept in between the living and the dead, as he phrased it, in that interval, till God should direct them on what bottom they ought to settle: and he assured them, that then he would surrender the heavy load lying upon him, with a joy equal to the sorrow with which he was affected while under that shew of dignity[a]." This was all very artful, and probably had its intended effect.

Cromwell in the foregoing speech talks of his having, on the dissolution of the parliament, power over the three nations, boundless and unlimited. This must suppose that he thought he had conquered all, or that all were subject to his rule and command. A strange doctrine! His country might well have cried out, "Are we then so unhappy as to be conquered by the person, whom we hired at a daily rate, like a labourer, to conquer others for us? Did we furnish him with arms only to draw and try upon our enemies, and keep them for ever sheathed in the bowels of his friends? Did we fight for liberty against our prince, that we might become slaves to our servant?——The right of conquest can only be exercised upon those against whom the war is declared, and the victory obtained. So that no whole nation can be said to be conquered but by a foreign force. In all civil wars, men are so far from stating the quarrel against their country, that they do it only against a person or party which they really believe, or at least pretend to be pernicious to it; neither can there be any just cause for the destruction of a part of the body, but when it is done for the preservation and safety of the whole. 'Tis our country that raises men in

[a] Burnet, vol. I. p. 104.

the English monarchs in glory, and made himself

the quarrel, our country that arms, our country that pays them, our country that authorizes the undertaking, and that distinguishes it from rapine and murder. Lastly, 'tis our country that directs and commands the army, and is indeed their general. So that to say in civil wars that the prevailing party conquers their country, is to say the country conquers itself. And if the general only of that party be the conqueror, the army by which he is made so, is no less conquered than the army which is beaten, and have as little reason to triumph in that victory, by which they lose both their honour and liberty. So that if Cromwell conquered any party, it was only that against which he was sent, and what that was must appear by his commission[a]." As to the distracted state of affairs, by reason of the dissolution of the government, and the tendency all things had to confusion, Mr. Cowley, with his usual spirit, says, "The government was broke; Who broke it? It was dissolved; Who dissolved it? It was extinguished; Who was it but Cromwell, who not only put out the light, but cast away even the very snuff of it? As if a man should murder a whole family, and then possess himself of the whole house, because 'tis better that he, than that only rats should live there[b]."—— However, though Cromwell probably was blameworthy for turning out his masters and dissolving the government, yet as things were, there seems to have been hardly any remedy so ready at hand for the establishment of peace and order, as his assuming the sovereignty, and exerting the power he had got into his hands for the good and benefit of the three nations. All other power, through his means indeed, was extinguished; but there was a necessity for some sovereignty or other to be erected, that men might not be forced upon new civil wars. And who but Cromwell was capable of this? Who so fit, in his own eye at least, to exercise it?——But let us attend to the reasons which were

[a] Cowley's Discourse concerning Oliver Cromwell, p. 60. [b] Id. p. 82.

given by the protector's order, or at least approbation, for this new settlement. They are contained in a small tract, intitled "A true state of the case of the commonwealth of England, &c. in reference to the late established government, by a lord protector and parliament[a]."——After having spoken concerning the various transactions during the war; the consequences thereof; the authority and government of the long parliament; the carriage and resignation of the next chosen; and severely censured many of the principles professed by some of its members: it goes on to say, "Wherefore upon these, and divers considerations, it was agreed to come to some such solid and certain course of settlement, as might hereafter bar up the way against those manifold inconveniences, which we have felt under other fleeting forms, and reduce us (as near as may be, with most convenience) to our antient way of government by supream magistrates and parliaments. And of this nature is the form now established, and already made publick. But to the end this may be made clear and manifest, we shall in the next place discourse somewhat concerning it in general, and then descend to particulars. In general, we say; that as this last change hath been made upon the same grounds of reason and equity, that necessitated all foregoing changes in the outward forms, and was admitted of absolute necessity to save a sinking nation out of the gulph of misery and confusion, caused by the changeable counsels and corrupt interest of other men, who violated their principles, and brake the trust committed to them: so none of those former alterations did so truly make good, or so fully provide for the security of those great ends of religion and liberty, which were as the blood and spirits running through every vein of the parliament and army's declarations; so that though the commonwealth may now appear with a new face in the outward form, yet it remains still the same in substance, and is of a better complexion and constitution than heretofore. And if we take a survey of the whole together, we find the

[a] London, printed for Thomas Newcomb, 1654.

foundation of this government laid in the people. Who hath the power of altering old laws, or making new? The people in parliament; without them nothing of this nature can be done; they are to be governed only by such laws as they have chosen, or shall chuse, and not to have any imposed upon them. Then who is to administer or govern according to those laws, and see them put in execution? Not a person claiming an hereditary right of sovereignty, or power over the lives and liberties of the nation by birth, allowing the people neither right nor liberty, but what depends upon royal grant and pleasure, according to the tenor of that prerogative challenged heretofore by the kings of England; under whom, if the commonalty enjoyed any thing they might call their own, it was not to be so much esteemed a matter of right, as a boon and effect of grace and favour. But the government now is to be managed by a person that is elective, and that election must take its rise originally and virtually from the people, as we shall fully evince by and by, in particular, and shew that all power, both legislative and executive, doth flow from the community; than which there cannot be greater evidence of publick freedom[a]."——"We see our friends have taken in the good of all the three sorts of government, and bound them all in one. If war be, here is the unitive virtue (but nothing else) of monarchy to encounter it; and here is the admirable counsel of aristocrasie to manage it: if peace be, here is the industry and courage of democrasie to improve it. And whereas in the present constitution, the legislative and executive powers are seperated; the former being vested in a constant succession of parliaments elective by the people, the latter in an elective lord protector and his successors, assisted by a council; we conceive the state of this commonwealth reduced to so just a temper, that the ills either of successive parliaments, furnished with power both of executing and making laws, or of a perpetual parliament, (which are division, faction, and confusion) being

[a] Case of the Commonwealth, p. 27.

avoided on the one side, and the inconveniences of an absolute lordly power on the other; the frame of government appears so well bounded on both sides, that we hope it may now (through the blessing of God) prove a seasonable mean (as for the better defending these dominions against enemies abroad, and promoting our interest in foreign parts, so also) of peace and settlement to this distracted nation; and be of durable continuance to succeeding ages[a]." In this manner was the erection of the protectorate defended. By the same writer we find it endeavoured to be proved, "That by this settlement all the grand acts of sovereignty were either immediately, or influentially lodged in the people; and that the objections against it were ill founded." After which follows a little panegyric on Cromwell and his new government, in the following words: "As touching the person, whom the Lord hath now advanced and set over us to be our supream magistrate, we shall not say much, because he seeks not the praise of men; only we believe even the enemies will confess that he is every way worthy to rule, whom God hath been pleased to use as his instrument in that glorious work of redeeming the liberties of his people; for we are bold to say (weighing all circumstances together) that this nation was never really free, nor in a way of enjoying its freedom so fully as now; so that there wants nothing but a cordial close with the government, to destroy all hopes of the common enemy, and compleat our happiness[b]."——This piece is referred to by Cromwell for satisfaction concerning his government, in one of his speeches to the parliament[c], and it was also translated into Latin, for a justification abroad. What force there is in it, the reader may form some judgment by the above extracts. ——No sooner had the inauguration of Cromwell been performed, but "he and his council had several applications and addresses made to them from divers considerable places, acknowledging his power and government, and promising

[a] Case of the Commonwealth, p. 51. [b] Id. p. 47. [c] See Parliamentary History, vol. XX. p. 419.

obedience to it[a]." Indeed there was an almost universal acquiescence for the present, as is owned by a mortal foe to Cromwell, in the following passage. "That which disposed the minds of the people to abstain from a present protestation against this government, besides the agony of the late confusions, and the astonishment upon the new wonderful alteration, was, that it was but temporary, and that limited to a very short time; a free parliament was to be called within so many months, which was entirely to consider and settle the government of the kingdom, and to remove all those obstructions which hinder the peace and happiness of the nation, and to restore it to that tranquillity and quiet it had been so long deprived of: and the protector was sworn to a due observation of all those articles, which he had himself prescribed for his own rules and bounds, and therefore the more hope that he would be contented to be limited by them[b]."——The truth is, by the power and artifice of Oliver the government of England had been dissolved, and a new one was now erected, which promised fair enough for the preservation and happiness of the community. Nothing therefore remained for the people to do, but to submit unto it, and make the best of it. "The obligation of subjects to the sovereign," says Mr. Hobbs, "is understood to last as long, and no longer, than the power lasteth, by which he is able to protect them. For the right men have by nature to protect themselves, when none else can protect them, can by no covenant be relinquished. The sovereignty is the soul of the commonwealth; which once departed from the body, the members do no more receive their motion from it. The end of obedience is protection; which, wheresoever a man seeth it, either in his own, or in another's sword, nature applyeth his obedience to it, and his endeavour to maintain it. And though sovereignty, in the intention of them that make it, be immortal; yet it is in its own nature, not only subject to violent death, but foreign

[a] Whitlock, p. 579. [b] Letter from a true and lawful Member of Parliament, to one of the Lords of his Highnesses Councel, p. 53. 4to. 1656.

courted and dreaded [49] by the nations around

war; but also through the ignorance and passions of men, it hath in it, from the very institution, many seeds of natural mortality, by intestine discord[a]."

[49] He rivalled the greatest of our monarchs in glory, and made himself courted and dreaded by the nations around him.] "If there ever appeared in any state," says Wicquefort, "a chief who was at the same time both tyrant and usurper, most certainly Oliver Cromwell was such: and yet for all that, never was there an usurper so solemnly acknowledged. Immediately after the death of the late king, Don Alonso dé Cardenas, embassador from Spain, legitimated this bastard republick; and Oliver had no sooner made himself sovereign, under the quality of protector, than all the kings of the earth prostrated themselves before this idol. To gratify him, the lawful king, [Charles II.] with his brothers, were driven out of those kingdoms and provinces, that ought to have served him as places of refuge or asylums. Lockart, who was embassador from the usurper, was not only received in France with all the honors that could have been done to the minister of the first monarch of Christendom, but cardinal Mazarine even refused to see the king of Great Britain, who had travelled quite through the kingdom to come to him at the foot of the Pyrenean hills, and would not so much as speak to the person that came from him, and waited at the door of the chief minister: who at the same time had daily conferences with the usurpers. All that the dispossessed king could obtain was, that the cardinal gave him leave that the duke of Ormond should speak to him as he passed along, and as it were accidentally, as he came from his own quarters to the isle of the conference.

"The king of Spain, who was brother-in-law to the deceased king, behaved himself a little better. He suffered the son to be in safety at Brussels, where he also met with

[a] Leviathan, p. 114. Fol. Lond. 1651.

him.——The peace he gave to the Dutch,

some civilities: and his chief minister Don Lewis de Haro, at the Pyrenean hills, shewed him that respect which the cardinal had refused him. The king of France being advanced as far as the frontiers of Flanders, the protector sent Falconbridge his son-in-law, to pay him those civilities, which sovereigns are used to shew one another on like occasions: and the duke de Crequy, one of the first lords of France, next to the princes, was sent to London, to thank the usurper for his civilities: and that nothing might be wanting to the ceremony, the cardinal would have his nephew Mancini accompany the duke. The difference that is to be seen in the behaviour of these two kings of France and Spain, who were both nearly related to the king of England, proceeded only from the difference of their interest. The Spanish embassador had used his utmost endeavours with the usurper, to engage him in the interest of the king his master; even to the offering him a hundred thousand crowns *per* month, two hundred thousand by way of advance, and an army of twenty thousand men to reconquer Calice. Cromwell had rejected these offers; and as he feared more the neighbourhood of France, than he hoped for advantage from the languishing and remote strength of Spain, he sided with the first, whose friend he became; by that means obliging the other to be so to the king of Great Britain, whose three kingdoms he had usurped [a]."

Wicquefort has not exaggerated matters in this account: for by the best authority we are told, "That upon Oliver's assuming the government, both those crowns [France and Spain] applied to him. Don Alonso de Cardenas, the Spanish ambassador then residing here, in a private audience, congratulated his access to the government, expressing the great satisfaction his master had received therein; in whose name he did assure him of the true and constant friendship of Spayne, in the condition that he

[a] Embassador, and his Functions, p. 17.

(though it has not wanted censurers) was ho-

then stood; or if he would go a step farther and take upon him the crown, that his master would venture the crown of Spayne to defend him in it; with many other expressions of kindness and good-will[a]." The distinction with which the English ambassador in France was treated, will be best explained by a letter of Lockhart's to Thurloe, dated Paris, May 7, 1656. "My last from St. Dennis told your honour, that I was to lodge at Paris that night. As I was going to my coach, Mr. Swift returned from the cardinal (from whom he received extraordinary civilities) and told me his eminence earnestly desired, that I would do him (as he said) honor, to receive a visit from him next day at St. Dennis. Upon this I resolved to stay there till Monday morning. Upon the Lord's day, I received a very kind welcome from him by the master of the house, and a letter very full of kind expressions. After my arrival at Paris, I renewed my desire both to his eminence and count Bryen for audience, which is promised me to-morrow at night; and after I am assured by a person of quality sent to me this morning by the cardinal, that I shall have the freedom allowed me to wait upon him as often as I will. Count Bulion sent also to me this morning, to tell me that he was commanded by the king to wait upon me this day to congratulate my safe arrival into France; and was very earnest with me to appoint him an hour, which I left to his own discretion and conveniency[b]." Lord Fauconberg's reception in France is thus related by himself, in a letter to H. Cromwell, dated Whitehall, June 8, 1658.——"I am now returned from the French court, where I have had the honourablest reception imaginable. The king did not only keepe bare at my publique audiences, but, when I made him a private visit, he talked with me in the garden an hour or two uncovered. From the cardinal the honours I had were particular and unusual: he waved the state of a publique audience, came out of his

[a] Thurloe, vol. I. p. 759. [b] Id. vol. IV. p. 771.

nourable to himself, and the nation. He pre-

own room to meet me, led me presently into his cabinet; after an hour's discourse in private, he conducted me downe to the very door, where my coach stood, a ceremony he dispenses with not only to all others, but even to the king himself. The charge of two very handsome tables were defrayed (for myself and followers) by the king, all the while I stayed. In summe, through all their actions not the least circumstance was omitted, that might witness the truth of these respects they beare his highnesse and the English nation[a]." With what detestation soever princes may speak of usurpers, we see they submit to pay them the tribute of adulation, when they suppose it for their interest: and though with abhorrence they speak of these men as mere tyrants and rebels, none are more solicitous to obtain their favour and assistance. A very edifying example, truly! Mazarine was bitterly reproached by some of the French for his extreme submission to Cromwell, as we find in the following passage: "these are the people [his friends and counsellors] who make you treat with Cromwell in a manner so mean and injurious to the French nation; who advise you to lower our flags before his ships, and who are willing to allow him the title of protector of the protestants of that kingdom[b]." In short, the courtship of the two crowns to Oliver, was so great and visible that it exposed them to laughter. "The Dutch struck a medal with the bust of Cromwell and his titles on one side, with Britannia on the other, and Cromwell thrusting his head in her bosom, with his breeches down and his backside bare, the Spanish embassador stooping to kiss it, while the French embassador holds him by the arm, with these words inscribed, *Retire toi, l'honneur apartient au Roi mon maitre*, i. e. Come back, that honour belongs to the king my master[c]." This medal is yet preserved in several Dutch cabi-

[a] Fanconberg, vol. VII. p. 158. [b] Advice to Card. Mazarine, at the end of Retz's Memoirs, vol. IV. p. 247. 12mo. [c] Biographia Britannica, p. 1564.

scribed the conditions, and they were forced

nets. It was said also that a "picture had been set to sale at Pont-neuf [in Paris] wherein the lord protector was sitting on a close-stole at his business, and the king of Spain on the one side, and the king of France on the other, offering him paper to wipe his breech[a]."——Indeed the friendship of Oliver was earnestly sought after by most of the kings and princes of his age. Frederick William, elector of Brandenburg, whose fame is rendered immortal by the pen of his royal descendant, courted the friendship of Cromwell[b]. Whitlock in a letter to his highness dated Upsal, January 13, 1653, gives him a particular account of the joy the queen of Sweden expressed on his assuming the protectorate, and in conclusion adds, "She told me she would write herself to my lord protector, and desired me in my letters to acquaint your highness, that no person had a greater esteem and respect of your highness than she had, which she would be ready to manifest, and was very joyful for this good news from England[c]." The king of Denmark sent over a person to congratulate his highness, the lord protector, and was overjoyed that he was included in the Dutch treaty. The terms given to the king of Portugal, and the manner of demanding satisfaction for his not executing the treaty signed by his ambassador, will much illustrate the high character Cromwell bore among his fellow sovereigns, and partly account for it. It is well known that the brother of the Portugal ambassador, with his master of horse, were concerned in a murder in London; that they took refuge in his house as in a sanctuary; that being delivered up they were tried, and notwithstanding the plea of public character made by the brother, were condemned and accordingly executed. "The Portuguese ambassador at eight of the clock in the morning signed a treaty with the protector, and departed from Gravesend at ten. His bro-

[a] Thurloe, vol. III. p. 658.

[b] Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg, p. 92. 12mo. Lond. 1758.

[c] Thurloe, vol. II. p. 23.

to accept of them, though at the expense of the

ther was beheaded in the afternoon, and his man hanged at Tyburn[a]." This was on the 10th of July, 1654. It may well enough be thought the treaty was not dishonourable to England[b]. "In one of the articles agreed with the ambassador it was expressed, that the merchants should enjoy liberty of conscience in the worship of God in their own houses and aboard their ships, enjoying also the use of English Bibles, and other good books, taking care that they did not exceed this liberty." This article does honour to the humanity of Cromwell. But the king of Portugal, who was under the influence of superstition and her priests, stuck at confirming a treaty so contrary to their maxims and views. "Upon sending Mr. Meadows," says the protector, "unless we will agree to submit this article to the determination of the pope, we cannot have it; whereby he would bring us to an owning of the pope, which we hope, whatever befall us, we shall not, by the grace of God, be brought unto. And upon the same issue is that article put, whereby it is provided and agreed by his ambassador, that any ships coming to that harbour, any of whose company, if they shall run from their said ships, shall be brought back again by the magistrate, and the commanders of the said ships not required to pay the said runaways their wages, upon pretence that they are turned Catholiques, which may be colour for any knave to leave his duty, or for the Roman Catholiques to seduce our men, which we thought necessary to be provided against; yet to this also, as I said before, they would not consent without the approbation of the pope, although it was agreed also by their ambassador. Upon the whole

[a] Thurloe, vol. II. p. 439.

[b] The lord chancellor Hyde, in his speech to both houses, May 8, 1661, calls "this treaty, in very many respects, the most advantageous to this nation that ever was entered into with any prince or people." And again, in the same speech, he says, "every article in it but one [a liberty given to Portugal to make levies of ten thousand men for their service] was entirely for the benefit of this nation, for the extraordinary advancement of trade, for the good of religion, and for the honour of the crown."——Lives of the Lord Chancellors, vol. II. p. 172.

house of Orange, to whom they were in a great

matter, we find them very false to us, who intended nothing but what was simply honest."——To treat farther with men of this cast of mind, Oliver, I suppose, thought was bootless. He knew the right way to go to work with them; and he took it. This appears from the instructions he gave, May 6, 1656, to the generals Blake and Mountague, in the following words: "Whereas the king of Portugal doth refuse to ratify the treaties lately made with this commonwealth by his extraordinary ambassador here, or to perform any part thereof, either in what relates to the state, or to the people and merchants; and by his proceedings gives ground to believe, that nothing is less in his intentions, than to give just satisfaction therein; wherefore we do hereby authorize and require you, as it will consist with the present condition of the fleet under your command, and with your other principal instructions, to use your best endeavours, by the fleet, or such part thereof as you shall judge necessary, to take, arrest, and seize upon the fleet or fleets belonging to the king of Portugal, or any of his subjects, with their guns, cash, goods and merchandizes whatever, now expected from the East and West Indies, and to keep and deteyne the same without breaking of bulk or embezilment, towards such satisfaction for the wrongs and damages, which this state hath suffered from Portugal, and to give notice forthwith of what you shall do therein. And in case any of the ships of the said king or his people shall make any resistance, you have hereby power to fight with, kill, and destroy, and to seek for, and burn all such as shall so resist. Nevertheless, if Mr. Philip Meadows, our envoy with the king of Portugal, shall before any seizure or act of hostility as aforesaid, give you assurance, that satisfaction is obtained upon the said treaties, that this instruction shall be void[a]." The admirals on the receipt hereof sailed towards Lisbon, and made known their orders to the English agent, who informing the court

[a] Thurloe, vol. IV. p. 769.

measure indebted for their independency and

obtained a speedy signing of the treaty by the king, and a very large sum of money for satisfaction; which was shipped on board the fleet, and sent to England[a]. Mountague indeed seems not to have been well pleased with the peace. He thought they had now Portugal at mercy, and should have imposed more rigorous terms. "You have," says he, (in a letter to Thurloe, dated June 17, 1656) "at this time the Portugal upon his knees, and if we had authority to make farther demands, we might ask what we would (almost), and he durst not but perform it, or his country would be all in rebellion. But this is to no purpose, the season being past." Men of such spirit and resolution as these, were capable of executing any commands. We may suppose an action like this must have inspired Cromwell's neighbours with a fear of offending!——After what has been related in this note, the following passages from Burnet will easily find credit, especially as several of them may be authenticated by incontestible vouchers. "Cromwell's maintaining the honour of the nation in all foreign countries, gratifyed the vanity which is very natural to Englishmen; of which he was so careful, that though he was not a crowned head, yet his ambassadors had all the respect paid them which our kings ambassadors ever had. He said the dignity of the crown was upon the account of the nation, of which the king was only the representative head, so the nation being still the same, he would have the same regards paid to his ministers.——Another instance of this pleased him much. Blake with the fleet happened to be at Malaga, before he made war upon Spain: and some of his seamen went on shore, and met the hostie carried about; and not only paid no respect to it, but laughed at those that did. So one of the priests put the people on resenting this indignity; and they fell upon them and beat them severely. When they returned to their ship they complained of this usage: and upon

[a] Thurloe, vol. V. p. 123, 124, 125.

freedom. The principal articles of it, I shall

that Blake sent a trumpet to the viceroy, to demand the priest who was the chief instrument in that ill usage. The viceroy answered he had no authority over the priest, and so could not dispose of him. Blake upon that sent him word, that he would not enquire who had the power to send the priest to him, but if he were not sent within three hours he would burn their town: and they, being in no condition to resist him, sent the priest to him, who justified himself upon the petulant behaviour of the seamen. Blake answered, that if he had sent a complaint to him of it, he would have punished them severely, since he would not suffer his men to affront the established religion of any place at which he touched: but he took it ill, that he set on the Spaniards to do it; for he would have all the world to know, that an Englishman was only to be punished by an Englishman. So he treated the priest civilly, and sent him back, being satisfied that he had him at his mercy. Cromwell was much delighted with this, and read the letters in council with great satisfaction; and said, he hoped, he should make the name of an Englishman as great as ever that of a Roman had been.—The states of Holland were in such dread of him, that they took care to give him no sort of umbrage: and when at any time the king or his brothers came to see their sister, the princess royal, within a day or two after, they used to send a deputation to let them know that Cromwell had required of the States that they should give them no harbour. King Charles, when he was seeking for colours for the war with the Dutch in the year 1672, urged it for one, that they suffered some of his rebels to live in their provinces. Borel, then their ambassador, answered, that it was a maxim of long standing among them, not to enquire upon what account strangers came to live in their country, but to receive them all, unless they had been concerned in conspiracies against the persons of princes. The king told him upon that, how they had used both himself and his brother. Borel, in great simplicity, answered: *Ha! Sire, c'étoit une*

mention below [50], for the information of my

autre chose: Cromwell etoit un grand homme, & il se faisoit craindre & par terre & par mer. This was very rough. The king's answer was: *Je me ferai craindre aussi à mon tour:* but he was scarce as good as his word.——All Italy trembled at the name of Cromwell, and seemed under a panic fear as long as he lived. His fleet scoured the Mediterranean: and the Turks durst not offend him; but delivered up Hide, who kept up the character of an ambassador from the king there, and was brought over and executed for it [a]." Many more proofs might be brought of Cromwell's being courted and feared by the nations around him. But these possibly may be deemed sufficient: if not, many things will be found in the following notes more fully to confirm it.

[50] The principal articles of the peace I shall mention below.] In the note 36 I have given an account of the commencement of the Dutch war, and the negotiations for peace until the interruption of the parliament by the power of Cromwell. From this change in the government, the enemy expected many advantages. But they soon found themselves mistaken; for the preparations for war were carried on with equal diligence as before, and the Dutch found to their cost that they had people of like spirit and resolution to deal with. For notwithstanding the ridicule with which the little parliament is almost constantly treated, they shewed bravery in carrying on the war; justice, generosity and good policy in rewarding the gallantry of their admirals, and inferior commanders; and a regard to the honor of the nation in the terms they insisted on to make peace. "In the year 1653 [b], a bloody battle was fought between Van Tromp and the English admirals Dean and Moncke, wherein the Dutch were worsted, which

[a] Burnet, vol. I. p. 126, *& seq.* See also Thurloe, vol. III. p. 6.

[b] This sea-fight was on the 2d and 3d of June, the next on the 29th and 30th of July following.—Gesta Britannorum, Lond. 1659. So that Mr. Burchett was negligent and mistaken.

readers, who will doubtless be pleased to find

occasioned tumults in Holland: and the same year in August, there was another bloody engagement, wherein the Dutch were again defeated, and Van Tromp slain in the action. The rest of the fleet being by this time cruelly broken and shattered, discouraged by this loss, made the best of their way to the Texel. The English having sunk thirty-three of the enemies ships in this battle, and taken about twelve hundred prisoners (which notwithstanding the forbidding to give or receive quarter by Moncke in the beginning of the action, they compassionately took up as they were swimming about) did not think fit to pursue far, but retired to Solebay, having purchased the victory with considerable loss; for they had four hundred men and eight captains slain or drowned in the fight, and about seven thousand wounded. The Dutch had suffered so extreamly, that they presently sued for a peace, and were glad to accept it on Cromwell's own terms[a]." The principal conditions of this peace, concluded April 5, 1654, were, "That neither of the two republics should give reception, succour, protection, or assistance to the enemies, or rebellious subjects of the other; that the freedom of navigation and commerce should be restored [saving all the laws and statutes of either commonwealth respectively] between the two nations, who obliged themselves, reciprocally, to defend each others ships in case they were attacked by any other power; but the superiority of the flag was entirely yielded to England, and the Dutch men of war were to strike their colours to the English, upon all occasions. The republic of the United-Provinces, obliged herself to prosecute and punish the authors of the massacre of Amboyna, if they were yet alive; and to send commissioners to London to adjust the disputes of the several India companies of both nations, and to settle the amount of the losses sustained by the English in the East Indies, Brazil, Muscovy,

[a] Burchett's Naval History, p. 994, 384. fol. Lond. 1720.

the right of the British flag asserted, and satis-

and Greenland, &c. that restitution might be made by the States-General; and if the commissioners appointed by the two nations should not be able to adjust the points in dispute, then the decision of them was to be left to the Swiss Cantons, who were pitched upon for arbitrators. The king of Denmark after a great deal of difficulty on the part of Cromwell, was included in the treaty as an ally of Holland, the States-General engaging to make good the losses that the English merchants had sustained by the seizure that prince had made of their ships in the port of Copenhagen. Lastly, in order to render the alliance firm and lasting, the States-General promised not to confer the supream command of their forces, either by sea or land, upon any person who would not oblige himself by oath to an exact observation of the treaty[a]."——The province of Holland, by a separate article, engaged never to permit the prince of Orange to be stadtholder, or any of his descendants. The other provinces, against their wills, afterwards did the like. Mr. Hume has added, "That eighty-five thousand pounds were stipulated to be paid by the Dutch East India company for losses which the English company had sustained; and the island of Polerone in the East Indies was promised to be yielded to the latter[b]." Nothing of this appears in the treaty itself. Mr. Burrish, however, informs us, "That the Dutch complied very exactly with the terms of the treaty, and sent commissioners into England within the limited time, who agreed to restore the isle of Polerone, to make satisfaction to the heirs and executors of those who had been massacred at Amboyna, and to furnish nine hundred thousand livres, at two payments, by way of composition, for all the pretensions England might hitherto have against them[c]."

Cromwell carried things with an high hand during this

[a] Burrish's Batavia illustrata, vol. II. p. 530. 8vo. Lond. 1728. And Mercurius Politicus, No. 203, 204. p. 3457, 3462. [b] Hist. of Great Britain, vol. II. p. 55. [c] Batavia illustrata, vol. II. p. 533.

faction stipulated for the murders at Amboyna. On this occasion medals were struck by the

whole affair. The Dutch deputies were plainly told, "That if the treaty was not signed before their departure from hence, and mutual engagements passed for the ratification thereof within a time now to be agreed upon, his highness doth declare, that he shall not hold himself obliged thereunto to any the parts thereof, but shall account the treaty to be at an end [a]." And by the treaty the States-General were to pay down in London 5000*l.* sterling, towards the charges of the merchants in going to Denmark about their goods and effects detained there; 20,000 rix-dollars to such of them as Oliver should appoint on their arrival in Denmark, for repairing their ships and fitting them for sea; and caution and security was to be given also by sufficient men, living in London, that restitution should be made by the States-General for the damages done by Denmark to the merchants. This security was 140,000*l.* sterling; the States gave a bond to some merchants for the above sum, and the ambassadors were forced to give them another for 20,000*l.* more to save them harmless [b].——The peace was proclaimed at London, April 17, 1654, with great solemnity: after which the ambassadors were entertained at dinner by the Protector; the music playing all the while. "The Lord Protector," adds the ambassador, (from whose relation I give this) "had us into another room, where the Lady Protectrice and others came to us, where we had also music and voices, and a psalm sung, which his highness gave us, and told us, that it was yet the best paper that had been exchanged between us [c]." Cromwell was careful to act still in character.——I have observed in the text, that this peace has not wanted censurers. Mr. Ludlow seems to blame it, because there was no provision made by this treaty for the coalescence so much insisted upon during the administration of affairs by the parliament [d]; Mr. Stubbe for its leaving

[a] Thurloe, vol. I. p. 607. [b] Id. vol. II. p. 247. [c] Id. p. 257.
[d] Vol. II. p. 487.

Dutch, and poetical panegyrics[51] in praise of Oliver were composed by some of both uni-

undecided the sovereignty of the seas, and the rights of the fishery[a]; and we are told that Moncke resented it, "as a base treachery in Cromwell, to make a sudden peace with the Dutch, and betray all the advantages of the war, that he might go up to the throne with more peace and satisfaction[b]." To all which I may add that Mr. Burrish observes, "That Cromwell's acceptation of the exclusion of the young prince of Orange, in lieu of the coalition, is an undeniable proof, that he demanded the latter, from a motive of self-interest; because," says he, "I dare affirm, it could not be the interest of the nation to abolish the office of stadtholder[c]." The reader will make his own remarks on these censures. I will close this note with observing, that the parliament had drawn out a summary of the damages sustained by the English company in the East Indies from the Dutch East India company, and had made the sum total 1,681,996*l.* 15*s.*[d]. Probably, they had not considered the Dutch claims on the English at that time.

[51] Medals were struck by the Dutch, and poetical panegyrics made on Oliver.] The Dutch struck three medals on this joyful occasion. These medals represented,

1. Neptune on a car, drawn by two sea-horses. The shields of arms of England and Holland, borne on his knees; on each side of him a Triton swimming; and on the top a caduceus, which supports Mercury's winged hat between two branches of a palm.—Round the medal is a verse from Terence, altered thus, *Amantium Iræ Amicitiæ Redintegratio est.*——On the reverse was this inscription in Dutch,—"In memory of the peace, union, and solemn confederacy concluded at Westminster, April 15, between his highness the Lord Protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland, and their high mightinesses the States-General of the United-Provinces; of which the

[a] Further Justification, p. 66.
[b] Gumble's Life of Monck, p. 74.
[c] Batavia illustrata, vol. II. p. 529.
[d] Milton's Prose Works, vol. II. p. 201

versities, whose names stand in the first rank

ratifications were duly exchanged by both parties, May 2, and published the 27th of the same month, in the year 1654. N.S."

2. Two women sitting together, jointly supporting a hat, as an emblem of the liberty of the two republics. The English dame bears on her knees a harp, and the Dutch has a Belgic lion couching at her feet.

"Mentibus unitis priscus procul absit Amaror,
Pilea ne subito parta Cruore ruant."

On the exergue.

"Conclusa decimo quinto Aprilis, anno 1654."

Reverse.

Two ships, one carrying the colours of Holland, and the other that of the States.

"Luxuriat gemino nexu tranquilla Salo res,
Excipit unanimes totius orbis amor."

3. The figures of Peace and Justice, with their emblems.

"Hæ mihi erunt artes."

Reverse.

"Quod fœlix faustumque sit. Post atrox Bellum, quod inter Anglicæ Belgicæque reipublicæ rectores, bis frustra tentatis pacis conditionibus, anno 1654 exarsit, in quo maximis utrinque Classibus, sex Septentrionali, duo Mediterraneo Mari, pugnata sunt cruenta prælia, Dei Optimi Maximi Beneficio, Auspiciis Olivarii, Magnæ Britanniæ Protectoris, Fæderati Belgii Ordinum, Pax cum antiquo Fædere restituta; cujus optimæ rerum in memoriam sempiternam senatus populusque Amstelodamensis hoc monumentum fieri curarunt[a]."

I have mentioned poetical panegyrics above. These now are to be given an account of. It had been, as it yet is,

[a] Parliamentary History, vol. XX. p. 286.

among the learned.——Cromwell, I know, has

the custom for the universities of this kingdom to compose poems in different languages to celebrate the inaugurations and the illustrious actions of princes. Among these latter, the settlement of peace and friendship upon honourable and beneficial terms, with a nation with whom they contended, has ever justly been deemed most glorious. Inasmuch as the end thereby is accomplished, and the blood and treasure of the people preserved, as well as their ease and safety secured. On such an occasion, therefore, as the peace with the Dutch, it was but natural for the Muses to exult. And, in fact, they did it. The most learned men, the best geniuses, and those who afterwards made the greatest figure in the literary world, joined in celebrating this glorious event. The verses composed at Cambridge were published there, with the following title; "Oliva Pacis. Ad illustrissimum celsissimumque Oliverum, Reipub. Angliæ, Scotiæ, & Hiberniæ Dominum Protectorem; de Pace cum Fœderatis Belgis feliciter sancita, Carmen Cantabrigiense[a]." Dr. Seaman, vice-chancellor, introduces them to his highness in a poem, of which the following lines make a small part.

Des veniam; nomen, Dux invictissime, vestrum
Nostris inscriptum versibus esse sinas.
Te Protectorem Respublica nostra salutat
Te Dominum, domino tu mihi major eris.
Quàm facile est, Olivere, tuum grandescere nomen,
Si meritis titulos accumulare licet.
Primus Marte, nec Arte minor, pietate secundus
Nulli, Militiæ gloria, Pacis amor.
Te Duce, solennes agit Anglia læta triumphos,
Juncto cum Batavis fœdere tuta magis.

Among the names subscribed to the poems that follow after, are Arrowsmith, Tuckney and Horton, men of fame in their own days; then come those of Whichcot, and Cudworth, whose fame still survives, and whose writings

[a] Ex celeberrimæ Academiæ Typographeo. 4to. 1654.

been almost universally blamed for breaking

render them immortal. Dillingham, Duport, Worthington, Wray [Ray], Glisson, and Bright, eminent for their skill in various branches of learning, bear a part in the collection, besides a variety of others, now little known or regarded.

The university of Oxford addressed his highness likewise. The book, in which their poems are contained, is entitled, "Musarum Oxoniensium ΕΛΑΙΟΦΟΡΙΑ. Sive, ob Fœdera, Auspiciis Serenissimi Oliveri Reipub. Ang. Scot. & Hiber. Domini Protectoris, inter Rempub. Britannicam & Ordines Fœderatos Belgii Fæliciter Stabilita, Gentis Togatæ ad vada Isidis Celeusina Metricum[a]."——— The dedication to this piece is in prose by Dr. Owen, vice-chancellor, and is full of expressions of gratitude to Oliver for his favours to, and protection of, the university. After which we have a copy of verses by the same hand, and a great variety of others in several languages by different pens. Zouch, doctor of the civil law, Harmer, Greek-professor, and Dr. Ralph Bathurst, names well known in the republic of letters, contributed to this collection, and joined in celebrating the protector. Besides these, we find here the names of Busby (who so long ruled in Westminster school, and complied with every change of government in his time) and Locke: the poem of the latter I will here insert, as it may, I am persuaded, be acceptable to the learned reader.

Pax regit Augusti, quem vicit Julius orbem:
Ille sago factus clarior, ille togâ.
Hos sua Roma vocat magnos & numina credit,
Hic quod sit mundi victor, & ille quies.
Tu bellum et pacem populis des, unus utrjsq;
Major es; ipse orbem vincis, & ipse regis.
Non hominem è cœlo missum Te credimus; unus
Sic poteros binos qui superare deos!

I will only add some lines out of Mr. afterwards Dr. South's poem, in the same collection.

[a] Oxoniæ, 4to. 1654.

with Spain, and allying himself to France[52];

—Tu Dux pariter Terræ Domitorq; profundi,
Componant laudes cuncta elementa tuas.
Cui mens alta subest pelagoq; profundior ipso,
Cujus fama sonat, quam procul unda sonat.
* * * * * * * * * * * *
Tu poteras solus motos componere fluctus,
Solus Neptunum sub tua vincla dare.
Magna simul fortis vicisti & multa: Trophæis
Ut mare, sic pariter cedit arena tuis.
Nomine pacifico gestas insignia pacis,
Blandaq; per titulos serpit Oliva tuos.

Would any one think this panegyrist should afterwards, in print, style Cromwell "a lively copy of Jeroboam[a]?" or have the face to say of the ruling ecclesiastics of these times, "that Latin was with them a mortal crime, and Greek, instead of being owned for the language of the Holy Ghost (as in the New Testament it is) was looked upon as the sin against it; so that, in a word, they had all the confusions of Babel amongst them without the diversity of tongues[b]?" But this was Dr. South.———The volume is closed with some verses from the printer to his highness the lord protector. This was Leonard Lichfield, esquire, bedle of divinity, as he stiles himself. He lived to perform the same honour to Charles II. as did many of the gentlemen above mentioned. For praise, for the time, follows fortune: and he who has the power of conferring benefits will never want flatterers.———We see, however, from hence, that Cromwell had equal honours paid him at home as well as abroad, with our kings; which was no unacceptable thing, we may assure ourselves, to so ambitious a mind as his, who sought greedily for fame, and was willing to perpetuate his name by deeds of renown.

[52] Cromwell has been blamed for his breach with Spain, and alliance with France; but whether justly, &c.] Instead of amusing the reader with the uncertain conjectures of various writers, on this very important subject, I will give him Mr. Thurloe's account of the negotiations between

[a] South's Sermons, vol. I. p. 160. 8vo. Lond. 1692. [b] Id. vol. III. p. 544.

whether justly or no may be questioned, not-

England, France and Spain, as far as they relate to Oliver; then will naturally follow the censures past on his conduct, which will produce some observations tending to the protector's justification.

" Upon Cromwell's assuming the government, Don Alonso de Cardenas, the Spanish ambassador then residing in London, after making the general compliments in the high strain, mentioned in the note (AAA), came to particular propositions on the part of Spayne, propounding a conjunction between England and Spayne against France, upon two grounds: 1. To bring France to a good peace, and thereby to obtain rest and quiet to all Christendome, which was miserably embroiled through the ambition of France, who would listen to no reasonable terms of peace, unless they were constrained thereto; and the most likely and visible means to effect that was, by the united counsels and forces of England and Spayne. 2. In this peace the establishment of Oliver in the government of these nations should be provided for, and particularly secured, against the clayme and title of his now majesty [Charles II.]; propounding, that one of the articles of the peace should be to defend Oliver in the aforesaid government, declaring that Spayne would never lay downe their arms, nor make peace with France, till that crowne also would agree thereto; by which means the standing of Oliver would be made firm and stable, having, besides his own interest here, two of the chiefest crownes of Europe to support and strengthen him: making mention here, by way of inducement, and to perswade that Spayne was real, and in good earnest in this particular, of the great disobligations, that the late king had put upon the king of Spayne, and the ill dealing he had received from him in several rencounters, which his majesty of Spayne did so much resent, that there could never be any confidence again between Spayne and that family; nor would it be the interest of Spayne, that any of that lyne should be restored to this government. Thence concluding, that Oliver could

withstanding the number and quality of the

not relye in this matter, upon any prince or state in Europe, so much as upon Spayne, labouring, at the same time, to render the alliance with France not only useless but dangerous, save in the way before expressed; wherein the treaty might be so ordered, that if France did break any of the articles, in prejudice of Oliver, or his government in England, Spayne would be obliged to join with England for the making good thereof. The particulars which he desired of England in this conjunction against France, was at first only four thousand soldiers to serve with the Spanish army, and twelve ships of war to be joined with their fleet in the designs they had against France about Bourdeaux. This proposition came afterwards to an entire English army of horse and foot, that might be able to march in any part of France. And as to the charge of transporting and keeping such an army, Don Alonso propounded (as I remember) that Spayne should bear two third parts, and the like of the fleet, which being computed, he was willing to pay part downe, and so much yearly, as long as this war should continue.

" At the same time arrived here monsieur Ligné from the prince of Conde, besides monsieur Barriere, that was here also, and some deputies from the town of Bourdeaux, offering reasons for a war against France, and propounding designs relating to Bourdeaux, and the parts thereabouts, wherein England might engage (as they thought) with great advantage; and this part was also managed by Don Alonso.

" These propositions were communicated to Oliver by those who met Don Alonso thereupon; but his own inclinations being not for any conjunction with Spayne, they were only therefore discoursed of, but the answere thereunto was delayed.

" France, during this time, did also make knowne by monsieur Bourdeaux their desires of holding a good understanding with Oliver, and sounded his inclinations of a nearer conjunction with France, and monsieur de Baas was

censurers. For the inequality between the two

sent immediately from the cardinall, and as his confident, to assure Oliver of his particular service. And both the one and the other did express the desires that France had of entering into a league defensive and offensive with England, and of proceeding by joint counsels towards Spayne; and that if England will either joyne their arms to France, or make war against Spayne upon their own bottom, they would contribute to the charge; desiring, in the mean tyme, that the former treatys between these two states may be renewed. To all this general answers were given, expressing very good intentions towards France; and I do not remember, that any thing more particular was said at this time, nor during all the time that monsieur de Baas stayed here; who was commanded to depart this country, upon intelligence, that he had intrigues here with several persons, tending to the publick disturbance.

" Don Alonso receiving no answer to his propositions, and perceiving a coldness in that business, signified to Oliver, that the intention of his master was not to engage England in a war against France, in case the present government found it not to be for their own interest; but that his chief hope was to maintaine a constant good intelligence with England. And therefore propounded, that the former alliances may be renewed, as the first step towards a nearer union. Accordingly commissioners were assigned to treat with him thereupon, and severall conferrences there were upon the concept of a treaty, mostly drawne out of the treaty of 1630. Amongst other difficulties these three following were the chief.

" 1. Touching the West-Indies, the debate whereof was occasioned upon the first article of the aforesaid treaty of 1630, whereby it is agreed, that there should be a peace, amity and friendship between the two kings, and their respective subjects, in all parts of the world, as well in Europe as elsewhere. Upon this it was shewed, that, in contravention of this article, the English were treated by the

crowns was far enough from being then as

Spanyards as enemies, wherever they were met in America, though sayling to and from their owne plantations; and insisted that satisfaction was to be given in this, and a good foundation of friendship lay'd in those parts for the future between their respective subjects (the English there being very considerable, and whose safety and interest the government here ought to provide for) or else there could be no solid or lasting peace established between these two states in Europe.

" 2. The second difference was touching the inquisition, the danger whereof all our English merchants, trading in Spayne, were exposed to. And in that it was desired, that out of the article, which related to the English merchants exercise of their religion in Spayne, those words might be omitted (modo ne dent scandalum) and that liberty might be granted to the said merchants to have and use in Spayne English Bibles, and other religious books. To these two Don Alonso was pleased to answer, That to ask a liberty from the inquisition, and free sayling in the West-Indies, was to ask his master's two eyes; and that nothing could be done in these points, but according to the practice of former times.

" 3. The third difference was in relation to some particulars of trade, as the king's decrying and advancing his coin, to the infinite prejudice of the English, &c.

" The debates upon these articles gave no great satisfaction to either side, nor increased the confidence, but rather shewed, that the principles of England and Spayne, at that time, were very different, and that it would be hard to make their interests to agree. At the same time there were several conferences also with the French ambassador, upon a treaty with France upon the ground of the former alliances. Then it came into debate before Oliver, and his councill, with which of these crowns an alliance was to be chosen. Oliver himself was for a war with Spayne, at least in the West-Indies, if satisfaction were not given for the

visible as it afterwards appeared; and Crom-

past damages, and things well settled for the future. And most of the council went the same way, and inclined to hold good intelligence with France; and some of the reasons for this opinion were:

" 1. In reference to his majesty, to wit, that by entertaining a good and confident correspondence with France, the king of England and his brother might be removed out of France, and thereby a perpetuall enmity stated between his said majesty and the king of France; and so all hopes of his restitution by succours from France taken away. And France was looked upon as the only foreign power that Oliver need consider as to the king's restitution. For,

" 1. Their relation in blood might incline them to it, and the treatyes upon the match would give them greater pretences to restore the king than any other state could have.

" 2. They could employ in this service, and engage in it the protestants of France, which might very dangerously divide us at home.

" 3. There was always a great confidence between the French and the Scots, which the French constantly made use of as a back-door into England; and, as affairs stood in Scotland, it would not be hard to set all in a flame there. And, although it was supposed, that if his majesty were excluded France, he would betake himself to Spayne, yet this was not thought dangerous; because his being in Spayne seemed rather disadvantageous to his returne than otherwise, the English being always jealous and afraid of the princi l s of Spayne, and who had no interest here but the papist; the presbyterian party, whom Oliver was desirous enough to engage in his affairs, having ever shewed the greatest aversion to the Spanyard.

" 4. In the next place, an ill understanding with France lay contrary to the amity with Sweden, which Oliver desired always to cherish upon several considerations.

" 5. A good intelligence there was thought safer for the

well always had it in his power to break loose,

protestants there than a war. So it was resolved to take all opportunities to maintayn a good understanding with France, and to send a fleet and land forces into the West-Indies, where it was taken for granted the peace was already broken by the Spanyard, contrary to the former treatyes; and not to meddle with any thing in Europe, until the Spanyard should begin, unless the American fleet should be met with, which was looked upon as lawful prize. And now the consideration was of joining with France in this war upon the grounds aforesaid, which France offered to do. And a treaty there was touching a squadron of ships to join with the French as auxiliaryes only to France, that so no breach might be in Europe with Spayne on the part of England; as also a sum of money was propounded to be given by France, in case England will declare war against Spayne in any part of the world. But many difficulties and delays falling out in this treaty, the fleet was sent away into the West-Indies. And a war followed thereupon between England and Spayne, without the least communication of counsels with France, whereby France had its end for nothing. Then arrives here the marquis de Leda, as extraordinary ambassador from Spayne, expressing desires of renewing the peace, but returned *re infecta*. And now there was no more discourse of a league defensive and offensive with France, which the councill were never for; but the former peace was renewed with some alterations, in respect of the present tyme, which is in print; and an article by itself for exclusion of his majesty, his highnesse the duke of Yorke, presently, and his highnesse the duke of Gloucester after ten years, with some other persons particularly named, out of France. This was all that passed between Oliver and the king or cardinall of France, for some years, save very civil messages and assurances of mutuall services, as occasion should be. In the mean tyme Oliver cast with himself how to get footing on the continent, which he always much longed for. And there was a designe

and throw himself into the opposite scale, if

to have drawne Flanders to revolt from Spayne; and, to that end, to have dealt with some of the great towns to have declared themselves a commonwealth, under the protection of the prince of Conde; and he was to be sounded in it, how he would inclyne thereto, if England and France did assist hym therein, and so, by that means, to have satisfyed Conde to live out of France, and to have eased the cardinall of the feare of his returne. But proper mediums being not found out to sound the prince of Conde, and it being not relished in France, it was no further prosecuted.

"Afterwards there were propositions of joining in the war against the Spanyard in Flanders, whereupon there was a treaty made in the year 1657. The effect was, that Oliver should send into France or Flanders 6000 foot, 3000 at the charge of England, and 3000 at the charge of France; that the whole being landed, should come under the pay of France. That with these, and a French army of horse and foot, the king should that yeare besiege Graveling or Dunkirk; and either being taken, to deliver it with all the forts into the English hands, viz. Dunkirk absolutely, and Graveling by way of caution, until Dunkirk should be taken and delivered. That the priviledges of the town and the religion should remayne in the same state as before; and that no peace or truce be made with Spayne by either during that yeare. The French that year took only Mardyke fort, so that the treaty was in Feb. 1657-8 renewed for another yeare; and, according thereto, Dunkirk was taken and put into the English hands. Further treaties were intended for the joint management of the war in Flanders, but the death of Oliver prevented it[a]."——These were the motives of Cromwell's preferring the friendship of France, and making war with Spain, of which the intelligent reader will form his own judgment. The world, for the most part, however, has blamed his conduct in this affair, as will appear

[a] Thurloe, vol. I. p. 759—762.

circumstances should alter. But, be this as it

by the following quotations. "Cromwell," says Mr. Bethell, (for he, I believe, was the author of the World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell) "contrary to our interest, made an unjust war with Spain, and an impolitic league with France, bringing the first thereby under, and making the latter too great for Christendome; and, by that means, broke the ballance betwixt the two crowns of Spain and France, which his predecessors, the long parliament, had always wisely preserved. In this dishonest war with Spain, he pretended and endeavoured to impose a belief on the world, that he had nothing in his eye, but the advancement of the protestant cause, and the honour of the nation; but his pretences were either fraudulent, or he was ignorant in foreign affairs (as I am apt to think, that he was not guilty of too much knowledge in them.) For he that had known any thing of the temper of the popish prelacie, and the French court-policies, could not but see, that the way to increase, or preserve, the reformed interest in France, was by rendering the protestants of necessary use to their king; for, that longer than they were so, they could not be free from persecution, and that the way to render them so, was by keeping the ballance betwixt Spain and France even, as that which would consequently make them useful to their king: but by overthrowing the ballance in his war with Spain, and joining with France, he freed the French king from his fears of Spain, enabled him to subdue all factions at home, and thereby to bring himself into a condition of not standing in need of any of them, and from thence hath proceeded the persecution that hath since been, and still is, in that nation, against the reformed there; so that Oliver, instead of advancing the reformed interest, hath, by an error in his politicks, been the author of destroying it. The honour and advantage he propounded to this nation in his pulling down of Spain, had as ill a foundation: for, if true, as was said, that we were to have had Ostend and Newport, so well as Dunkirk, (when we could get them) they bore no

may, honour and profit accrued hereby to the

proportion, in any kind, to all the rest of the king of Spain's European dominions, which must necessarily have fallen to the French king's share, because of their joining and nearness to him, and remoteness from us, and the increasing the greatness of so near a neighbour, must have increased our future dangers [a]."——Mr. Burrish, after mentioning the offers made to Cromwell from France and Spain, in order to obtain his friendship, says, "in these circumstances, perhaps, the wisest course had been to have sate still, and entertained both sides in suspence, under favour of which the commerce of Great Britain could not fail to have flourished. But the protector was not easy at home. Some of those who had been the means of his elevation, either from envy, or a true republican principle, were become his enemies; the nation was accustomed to war, and seemed to take pleasure in it; all which induced Cromwell to break with some of his neighbours, that he might find employment abroad for those busy spirits, which, if left at home, would certainly have engaged in popular commotions. Thus the protector having resolved a war from a motive of self-interest, the same principle made him prefer the alliance of France to that of Spain; because Philip IV. was neither so redoubtable an enemy as Lewis XIV. nor so capable of serving Cromwell in the quality of a friend. The principal dominions of Spain were situated at a great distance from England; and, as to the naval power of that crown, which had lately been the terror of the universe, it was now so reduced, that when, in consequence of the forementioned treaty, monsieur de Turenne formed the siege of Dunkirk with the confederate troops of France and England, a small squadron of English ships served to block up the port, and prevent the garrison from receiving any relief by sea. In these circumstances the Spaniards run a very great risque of having their flota fall into the hands of the Eng-

[a] The World's Mistake, &c. p. 4.

English nation, and such too as it has, and

lish, and to this we may add, that the ill condition of their affairs in the West-Indies, gave the protector hopes of annexing Hispaniola to the dominions of Great Britain. But this weakness of the Spaniards, which invited Cromwell into the war, and seemed to assure him of success, was a very strong reason why he ought not to have broke with them; because he could not continue to depress the crown of Spain without destroying the equality of power, that ought to subsist between the several great states of Europe, and elevating France to such an exorbitant degree, as would enable her to lord it at pleasure over all her neighbours. The protector knew this extremely well, and there are those who have affirmed, that, before his death, he had taken a resolution to reconcile himself with the court of Madrid. After having acquired Dunkirk and Jamaica, during his alliance with France, he had a mind to possess himself of Calais by the assistance of the Spaniards; but, as he did not live to effect this, he left the French very great gainers by the measures they had taken with him[a]." Lord Bolingbroke censures Oliver in strong terms likewise. Hear him. "Cromwell either did not discern," says his lordship, "this turn of the ballance of power [from Spain to France]—— or, discerning it, he was induced by reasons of private interest to act against the general interest of Europe. Cromwell joined with France against Spain, and tho' he got Jamaica and Dunkirk, he drove the Spaniards into a necessity of making a peace with France, that has disturbed the peace of the world almost fourscore years, and the consequences of which have well nigh beggared in our times the nation he enslaved in his. There is a tradition, I have heard it from persons who lived in those days, and, I believe, it came from Thurloe, that Cromwell was in treaty with Spain, and ready to turn his arms against France, when he died. If this fact was certain, as little as I honour

[a] Batavia Illustrata, vol. II. p. 453.

yet continues to enjoy. For though the

his memory, I should have some regret that he died so soon. But whatever his intentions were, we must charge the Pyrenean treaty, and the fatal consequences of it, in great measure, to his account. The Spaniards abhorred the thought of marrying their infanta to Lewis XIV. 'It was on this point that they broke the negotiation Lionne had begun: and your lordship will perceive, that if they resumed it afterwards, and offered the marriage they had before rejected, Cromwell's league with France was a principal inducement to this alteration of their resolution[a].'' —— Mr. Hume joins in the cry against Cromwell, and peremptorily declares, "That, if he had understood and regarded the interest of his country, he would have supported the declining condition of Spain against the dangerous ambition of France, and preserved the ballance of power, on which the greatness and security of England so much depends. Had he studied only his own interests, he would have maintained an exact neutrality betwixt those two great monarchies; nor would he ever have hazarded his ill acquired and unsettled power, by provoking foreign enemies, who might lend assistance to domestick faction, and overturn his tottering throne. But his magnanimous courage undervalued danger: his active disposition and avidity of extensive glory made him incapable of repose[b]." ——These are the principal objections to Cromwell's entering into the war with Spain, and leaguing with France: objections it must be owned at this distance of time, and in our view of things, extremely plausible, but which possibly would have been deemed but of little force had they been urged when these important affairs were under deliberation. For let it be considered that Cromwell was at liberty to wage war with Spain, on account of its cruelties to the English in America, and the restrictions laid on their

[a] Letters on the study and use of history, vol. I. p. 258. 8vo. Lond. 1753.
[b] History of Great Britain, vol. II. p. 65.

expedition to Hispaniola, under the joint commerce. To avenge innocent blood, procure satisfaction for injuries past, and security for the time to come, is worthy a sovereign, and merits praise from all.——Again; with France the protector had no quarrel. Calais was too old an affair to ground a war on; and the making use of it as a pretence for it, would have been deemed ridiculous and unjust.——France, it is true, was capable of hurting Oliver more than Spain; but it must be very idle to make it criminal in him to prefer her friendship for that among other reasons. It is sufficient the public good is not sacrificed to private interest: to expect men in power, how wise and good soever, will have no regard to their own preservation and safety, is perhaps too much. I do not remember many instances of it in latter times. But the great objection we see is, the balance of power between the two crowns was by Cromwell's means broken, and France thereby enabled to give the law to Christendom. But Oliver, I presume, must be acquitted on this head, if it appears that it was imagined at that time that the balance was on the side of Spain; that in fact the two crowns were much nearer on an equality than the objectors suppose; that Cromwell kept it in his power to turn the scale as he thought fit; and that the Pyrenean treaty in reality placed the two crowns in proper situations with respect to each other, and to their neighbours.

1. Spain was not then viewed in that weak state which she afterwards appeared. Cromwell's parliaments were not over complaisant to him, nor prone to approve his actions merely as such. "Yet the parliament," says Mr. Thurloe in a letter to general Montague, dated Whitehall, October 25, 1656, "declared themselves cordially and unanimously concerning the Spanish war, having after two days debate declared their approbation thereof *nemine contradicente*: and this before they heard one tittle of your success[a]." The

[a] Ormonde's State Papers, vol. II. p. 115.

same gentleman writing to the general, August 28, preceding, says, "The Spaniard hath had great success in Flanders this year against the French. To that of raising the siege of Valenciennes, he had added the taking of Conde, and is very likely to lodge himself this year in France; so that the cardinal hath not been able to draw any army to the sea-coast, as was intended, being scarce able to defend his own country [a]."

2. There was not in fact that inequality between the two crowns which the objectors suppose. It is well known that through several preceding reigns, it was the house of Austria only had been formidable; that injured our royal family in the Palatinate; and alone threatened the liberties of Europe. France had not yet given occasion to her neighbours to fear. A long war had been now carried on between the two crowns, with various success. If Spain was weakened by the revolt of Portugal and Catalonia, it is certain France was distracted with domestic contentions even in Paris itself, as well as other parts of the kingdom: contentions the more dangerous, as persons of the most elevated rank and greatest power were concerned in them. So that Spain carried on the war on a foot of equality, not of defence. If the prince of Conde had cut off their best veterans at Rocroy, he now himself headed their troops with the acknowledged reputation of being the best general in Europe, though Turenne figured in the field, and had performed deeds of renown.——This equality is visible through several campaigns; but the raising of the siege of Arras on one side, and that of Valenciennes on the other, proves it beyond doubt; to which may be added, that even after the taking of Mardyke in pursuance of the league with England, by Turenne, the French met with several losses [b].—— We seem therefore to deceive ourselves with our after knowledge, when we blame Cromwell for overturning the balance of power.

[a] Ormonde's State Papers, vol. II. p. 112.

[b] Ramsay's Life of Turenne, vol. I. p. 303. 8vo. Lond. 1735.

3. It should be observed, that Cromwell held the balance of power in his own hands the more firmly, by his French league. We see from Thurloe's account with what caution he engaged in it. The treaty was but for a year, till Dunkirk should be conquered for England by the help of France, and when Cromwell had got it, he was at liberty, if he saw fit, at the end of that year to make a peace with Spain, and use this very town against France. The English troops conquered little or nothing for the French crown; but France by giving England a footing on the continent just on the confines of the two contending parties, enabled it to hold the balance of power so much the more steadily between them, and become so much the more formidable to France as well as Spain. He found the scales even, and in possessing himself of Dunkirk, he made the French give him hold of the handle of the balance to keep them so.

If any after this, should condemn Cromwell for weakening the Spaniards by making this conquest of Dunkirk, what must they think of Charles II. who by the advice of his chancellor Hyde sold it to France, and thereby threw so great a weight into that scale, which then appeared more manifestly to preponderate?

4. The Pyrenean treaty placed the two crowns in proper situations with respect to each other, and to their neighbours.——In the treaty between the emperor, Spain and Holland in 1673, the States-general stipulated to "make no peace with France 'till the Catholic king was put in possession of all that his most Christian majesty had taken in the Low Countries since the peace of the Pyrenees." In the grand alliance between the emperor, England and Holland, in 1689, it was agreed, "That no peace should be made with France, till the peace of Westphalia, Osnabrug, Munster, and the Pyrenean were by the help of God, and common force vindicated, and all things restored to their former condition, according to the tenor of the same." And king William III. when prince of Orange, though justly warmed with resentment against France, declared, "That whenever Spain passed the bounds of the Pyrenean treaty, he would

command of Penn and Venables [53], through a

become as good a Frenchman as he was then a Spaniard [a]." These facts I think fully shew, the Pyrenean treaty to have been well calculated for the repose of Europe, and for the advantage of the contracting powers. However, it was not Cromwell's league that produced this treaty and its fatal consequences, as lord Bolingbroke suggests. The proposal of giving the infanta to Lewis XIV. was rejected by Spain, when there was no other heir to that throne; it was accepted when a son was born to ascend it[b]. The consequences of this marriage were indeed fatal to Europe. But they arose from the ill conduct of Spain, and the injustice, ambition, and perjury of Lewis, who with the zeal of a bigot, the superstition of a priest, and the sensuality of an epicurean, delighted in sacrificing the blood of millions, to his own foolish idea of glory. ——I will conclude this note with observing that Cromwell's irresolution and delay in choosing his side in the war seem justly censurable; more especially as he neglected to close in with the offers made him by France, even after he had determined, and sent his fleet for the West Indies. Bourdeaux, the French ambassador's letters, are full of the delays he met with in his negotiation for this purpose; and Mr. Thurloe points out the wrong measures taken on this occasion, when he says above, "France offered a sum of money, in case England would declare war against Spain in any part of the world; but many difficulties and delays falling out in this treaty, the fleet was sent away into the West Indies, and a war followed thereupon between England and Spain, without the least communication of counsells with France, whereby France had its end for nothing."

[53] The expedition to Hispaniola miscarried.] Cromwell's instructions to general Venables, commander of the land forces sent to America, are to be seen in Burchett. From these it appears that no particular place was the object of

[a] See Sir Wm. Temple's Memoirs, p. 128. 8vo. [b] See Turenne's Life, vol. I. p. 327.

variety of causes was unsuccessful; and sub-

their destination, but much was left to the prudence of the commanders. Reasons are therein mentioned for attempting the islands, or leaving these, to attack the main land, more especially Carthagena; whereby, if conquered, they might be masters of the Spanish treasures which come from Peru by way of Panama in the South-Sea, to Porto Bello, or Nombre de Dios in the North-Sea [a]. But where, after all, the descent was to be made, the generals with the commissioners, or any two of them, were, on proper consultation, to determine. So that lord Clarendon was much mistaken in saying, "Their orders from Cromwell were very particular and very positive, that they should land at such a place, which was plainly enough described to them [b]." The fleet left England, December 19, 1654, and arrived at Barbadoes, January 29, 1654, O. S. Here it was supposed they should meet with many things they stood in need of. But their expectations were not answered. Even a sufficient quantity of arms and ammunition were wanting. "A sad matter," says Venables in a letter to Montague, written from Barbadoes, February 28, following, "when we must attempt so high with little or nothing, or return home and do nothing! which few of us had a great deal more chearfully hear the news of death than be guilty of." The progress and ill success of the fleet and army, I will relate in the words of Venables. "We left," says he, "Barbadoes the last of March, and came to St. Christophers, where we found a regiment formed; and not staying to anchor, we sailed thence without setting foot on shore, and in a fortnight's time came to Hispaniola, where we landed upon Saturday the 14th of April, near forty miles to the west of Santo Domingo. The reason was, our pilots were all absent; the chief had outstayed his order, being sent out to discover, and none with us save an old Dutchman, that knew no place but that: whereas we resolved to have landed

[a] Burchett, p. 387. [b] Vol. VI. p. 578.

jected the nation to disgrace; yet the taking

where Sir Francis Drake did, except forced off by a fort (said to be there;) and then in such a case to have gone to the other. From our landing we marched without any guide, save heaven, through woods; the ways so narrow, that 500 men might have extreamly prejudiced 20000 by ambushes; but this course the enemy held not, save twice. The weather extream hot, and little water; our feet scorched through our shoes, and men and horse died of thirst: but if any had liquor put into their mouths, presently after they fell, they would recover, else die in an instant. Our men the last fortnight at sea had bad bread, and little of it or other victuals, notwithstanding general Penn's order; so that they were very weak at landing, and some, instead of three days provision at landing, had but one, with which they marched five days, and therefore fell to eat limes, oranges, lemons, &c. which put them into fluxes and fevers. Of the former I had my share for near a fortnight, with cruel gripings, that I could scarce stand. Col. Butler was ordered to land to the east of the city, but could not; and therefore he and the Christopher's regiment under col. Holdip were landed where we first resolved, and were ordered by general Penn (whose order I enjoined them to obey) to stay there for us: but they marched away, which contrary to the first resolution, with some other reasons, drew us beyond their landing (where we were to receive more victuals) to secure them who were straggling up and down for water. Which put the enemy upon placing of an ambush for them, which fell upon our forlorn and routed them; but the van immediately beat them back with loss, and pursued them near to the city walls, who shot at us. Victuals we wanted, having fasted two days every man of us; our ammunition spent; no water; and our men ready to faint, and some died; the eagerness and heat of fight had drawn them beyond their strength. Whereupon it was resolved by a council of war, to retreat for meat and ammunition; which we did; but our long march and this delay did give the

and settling of Jamaica, will always be deemed

enemy time to call in all the country to at least 4 or 5,000, and left our men, after travel by sea, bad diet, and fasting, very weak: so that when we advanced the next, they fell upon our forlorn again, routed them, and then in the narrow lanes and thick woods routed mine and major general Heane's regiments, slew my major and three of my captains, slew the major general, and wounded his lieutenant colonel, who is since dead; and were not repulsed, till the regiment of seamen (with whom I was) gave stop to this disorder. Never did my eyes see men more discouraged, being scarce able to make them stand, when the enemy was retreated, who never looked upon us until we were ready to faint for water: they having (which I forgot to tell before) stopt up all their wells; so that we had not of ten miles at least, one drop of water[a]."——Mr. Daniel, auditor general in this expedition, gives much the same account; and then adds, "I cannot omit to express something concerning this great business, which I am sure the world will mistake in reporting; but myself being a present eye-witness there on the place, and amongst the crowd, in the midst of danger, near major-general's person, I have not, neither shall I, relate any thing but what I know for certain truth. I know a threefold cord cannot be easily broken; but where they twist not equally together, they many times cut one another; and this I am sure, that in martial affairs, where commands execute like lightnings, and those variable as the winds, according as the present emergency requires, and not for consent of others, to the losse of all. I well know his highness would never submit, in all his past actions, to such curbs, nor can brave designs ever succeed with such bridles, which I hope to see amended." This seems a sensible reflection on joining commissioners and the admiral in authority with the general, and thereby rendering their advice and

[a] Ormonde's State Papers, Vol. II. p. 48. See also Thurloe, vol. III. p. 504—508. And Howard's Collection of Letters, vol. I. p. 1—21. 4to. Lond. 1753.

as an essential service to Britain, and meriting

consent absolutely necessary in every affair. This was one unhappy cause of the ill success they met with, we may well enough suppose. Another was the dislike of the admiral and some of the sea officers, to the land forces, as the same gentleman hints in the following passage. "The uncharitableness of our rear admiral," says he, "will not suffer my silence, for by that time we were by order shipped from Hispaniola, he did furiously and most unchristian-like say, before good witness, where are these cowardly Spaniards now? Will they not come and cut off these army rogues, that we may noe more be troubled with them? And his own lieutenant, my former acquaintance, being by accident aboard the ship where I came into weak, and so ill not able to stand, after salutes and some discourse, told me to my face (like to his profession) we were all overboard, that they might be rid of us again; speaking the same words to capt. Fincher, in his extremity of weakness, and also to others[a]."

On the other hand, great complaint was made of general Venables. He was looked on as covetous and niggardly, and was possessed but of little esteem amongst the soldiery[b], having prohibited them from plundering on pain of death[c]. A thing no way pleasing in such an expedition, where every man flattered himself with the hopes of making a fortune. ———Such were the causes of the failure of the expedition to Hispaniola; causes which will always produce like effects. For unless there is unanimity of counsel, obedience to orders, confidence in the commander, and sufficient store of provisions and ammunition, it can never be expected but that things will go amiss. It were well if this had been the only affair in which dishonour and disgrace had accrued to the nation through the disagreement of commanders, and the envy and ill will of the land and sea officers one towards

[a] Thurloe, vol. III. p. 507. [b] Id. p. 659. [c] Id. p. 505.

the highest applause [54]. The attempt on His-

another! Cromwell's genius did not appear in planning this expedition [a].

[54] The taking and settling of Jamaica, was an essential service to Britain.] After the disgrace received by the English, as mentioned in the preceding note, the army was reduced to the greatest extremities. "The rains increasing," says the auditor Daniel, "our men weakening, all even unto death fluxing, the seamen also ill neglecting, that forced us to eat all our troop horses, (the enemy denying all relief, triumphing) and these miseries increasing, our council resolved by seeking God, to purge the army. First, Jackson [adjutant-general] found guilty of cowardice, had his sword broken over his head for a coward, his commission taken away, and expulst the army, and to be swabber to hospital ships of sick people, which was accordingly done. Some women found in mens apparel were punished, and all suspected whores (Barbadoes and those plantations yielding few else) narrowly sought after; all officers and soldiers strictly commanded to observe duty, upon greatest pains; one of major-general (now Fortescue) soldiers, proved to run away, hanged; and indeed like a wise prudent general, all things by him ordered; yet our sickness increasing, it was resolved again to ship, and so directly for Jamaica [b]." ——Venables himself shall relate the success. "Upon this disaster and our mens fears we fell to new counsels, and resolved to try Jamaica (from which nothing diverted our first attempt, but that it wanted a name in the world, our men refusing to march again for Domingo) where we landed (having beaten the enemy from off his forts and ordnance) upon the tenth of May; and find the country in our judgments equal, if not superior, to Hispaniola: and in four miles march here, I saw more cattle and plantations than in

[a] See Account of the European Settlements in America, vol. II. p. 64. 8vo. Lond. 1758. [b] Thurloe, vol. III. p. 507.

paniola quickly reached the ears of the Catho-

forty in Hispaniola, and a better air, the site more advantagious to intercept the Spanish Plate fleet. The Recovery and William of London are come to us with some biscuit, which we extreamly want, but the fleet claim it as theirs; and then we starve: for the enemy here, after signing articles, have run into the woods, and drove away all the cattle into the mountains, and left us nothing but bare walls and roots to shelter and feed upon. We are getting horse to make troopers and dragoons: and then we hope well, if the Lord bless a party we have sent forth under colonel Butler. The people have broke all their promises all along; but we have their governor and another principal man as two hostages; they say the articles are too harsh[a]." All things at last however were settled, and Venables and Penn, between whom there was an ill understanding, and who had different parties even among the land forces, took the first opportunity of returning to England. Cromwell, greatly displeased at their whole conduct, and disappointed in his high hopes, we may well suppose was angry; and after hearing their mutual accusations and defences, committed them to the Tower. Certain it is, many of the officers complained greatly of Venables' behaviour, both at Hispaniola and Jamaica[b]. The English were no sooner known to be gone to this latter place, but an account was sent by Mr. Muddiford from Barbadoes, of its great utility and importance. "It is apparently," says he, in a letter dated June 20, 1655, (seeing they would have an island) "far more proper for their purposes, than the other or Porto Rico, as the situation in the maps will make more visible. It hath an excellent harbour, and is accounted the most healthful and plentiful of them all. It will be sooner filled, and is far more convenient for attempts on the Spanish fleet, and more especially the Carthagena fleet, which must halt within sight of it, as they go to the Havannah. And

[a] Ormonde's Papers, vol. II. p. 50.

[b] See Thurloe, vol. III. p. 646—755.

lic king, who immediately thereupon seizing

believe it, this will more trouble the court of Spain than ten of the other: and therefore it must be expected more attempts will be by the Spaniards to supplant them. If therefore you have an opportunity, press his highness and the council to send speedy and great supplies of men, arms, ammunition, and cloathes.——I am confident that if this place be fully planted, which in three or four years may with ease be done, his highness may do what he will in the Indies[a]." Cromwell was sensible of its importance, and issued out a proclamation for the encouragement of all persons inclined to settle there, promising the erection of civil government; protection against enemies; exemption from customs for a certain number of years, and all other things requisite to induce men to transport themselves thither[b]. Incredible were the hardships the first English planters, as well as the officers and soldiers, met with in the beginning. But Cromwell was continually sending them relief, and doing every thing in his power to make them easy and happy[c]. Nothing can more fully confirm this than the following letter written by him to major-general Fortescue, commander of the forces there, after the departure of general Venables.

"SIR,

"You will herewith receive instructions for the better carrying on of your business, which is not of small account here, although our discouragements have been many; for which we desire to humble ourselves before the Lord, who hath sorely chastened us. I doe commend, in the midst of others miscarriages, your constancy and faithfulness to your trust, in every ** where you are, and taking care of a company of poore sheepe left by their shepherds; and be assured, that as that which you have done hath been good in

[a] Thurloe, vol. III. p. 565. [b] Id. p. 723. [c] Id. vol. IV. p. 653, *& seq.*

the persons and effects of the English merchants in his dominions, caused an open war between the two nations. Cromwell, far from

itself, and becoming an honest man, so it hath a very good favour here with all good Christians and all true Englishmen, and will not be forgotten by me, as opportunitie shall serve. I hope you have long before this time received that good supplye which went from hence in July last, whereby you will perceive, that you have not been forgotten heere. I hope also the ships sent for New England are before this tyme with you; and let me tell you, as an encouragement to you and those with you to improve the utmost diligence, and to excite your courage in this business, though not to occasion any negligence in presentinge that affair, nor to give occasion to slacken any improvement of what the place may afford, that you will be followed with what necessary supplies, as well for comfortable subsistance, as for your security against the Spaniard, this place may afford or you want. And therefore study first your securitie by fortificing; and although you have not monies for the present, wherewith to do it in such quantities as were to be wished, yet your case being as that of a marchinge army, wherein every soldier out of principles of nature and according to the practice of all discipline, ought to be at the pains to secure the common quarter; wee hope no man amongst you will be soe wantinge to himself, consideringe food is provided for you, as not to be willinge to help to the uttermost therein; and therefore I require you and all with you for the safetie of the whole, that this be made your principal intention. The doinge of this will require, that you be verie careful not to scatter, till you have begun a securitie in some one place. Next I desire you, that you would consider how to form such a body of good horse, as may, if the Spaniard should attempt upon you at the next comeing into the Indies with his gallions, be in a readiness to march to hinder his landinge, who will hardly land upon a body of

being intimidated, sent immediate orders to Blake, who was then in the Mediterranean, to act against Spain. His orders were obeyed,

horse; and if he shall land, be in a posture to keep the provisions of the country from him, or him from the provisions, if he shall endeavour to march towards you. Wee trust wee shall furnish you with bridles, saddles, and horse-shoes, and other things necessary for that worke, desiring you to the uttermost to improve what you have already of those sorts. Should it be knowne that you had 500 horse well appointed, ready to march upon all occasions in that island, even that alone might deterre the Spaniard from attemptinge any thing upon you. Wee have sent commissioners and instructions into New England, to trye what people may be drawn thence. Wee have done the like to the English windward islands, and both in England, Scotland, and Ireland, you will have what men and women we can well transport. Wee thinke, and it is much designed amongst us, to strive with the Spaniard for the mastery of all those seas; and therefore wee could heartily wish, that the island of Providence were in our hands againe, believinge that it lyes so advantagiously in reference to the mayne, and especially for the hindrance of the Peru trade and Cartagena, that you would not only have great advantage thereby of intelligence and surprize, but even blocke up the same. It is discoursed here, that if the Spaniard doe attempt you, it is most likely it will be on the east end of the island towards Cuba, as also Cuba upon Cuba is a place easily attempted, and hath in it a very rich copper mine. It would be good for the first, as you have opportunity, to informe yourself, and if there be need, to make a good work thereupon, to prevent them; and for the other, and all things of that kinde, wee must leave them to your judgment upon the place, to doe therein as you shall see cause. To conclude, as we have cause to be humbled for the reproof God gave us at St. Domingo upon the account

and wealth [55], honour and renown, accrued to

of our owne sins, as well as others; soe truly upon the reports brought hither to us of the extreame avarice, pride, and confidence, disorders and debauchedness, profaneness and wickedness commonly practised amongst the army; wee cannot onlie bewail the same, but desire that all with you may doe so, and that a very special regard may be had soe to governe for tyme to come, as that all manner of vice may be thoroughly discountenanced and severely punished, and that such a frame of government may be exercised that virtue and godlinesse may receive due encouragement."

He lived not indeed to see the beneficial effects of his care. But the English nation has sufficiently experienced it. Jamaica for near a century has returned an immense treasure to her mother country, and enabled her to injure Spain when necessary, in a very sensible manner. This she long has done, and as it is said, is yet capable of doing much more, if properly cultivated, and improved, and rescued out of the hands of monopolizers. How far this is true, it may become those who have the affairs of our colonies under their inspection to enquire; but whatever be the result, it will be an indisputable truth that Jamaica is is one great source of wealth to Britain.

[55] Wealth and honour accrued to his country by Blake's behaviour.] On the king of Spain's seizing the persons and effects of the English by way of retaliation for what had passed in America, Cromwell published a manifesto in Latin, written, as is supposed, by Milton, setting forth his reasons for his conduct in that affair. This piece contains a great variety of instances of the barbarity, cruelty and oppression exercised by the Spaniards on the English, which are little known. Ships were taken, men murthered, and the islands of Tortuga and Providence wrested out of the hands of the English in times of full peace. Besides these abominable deeds in the new world, an account is

his country by the behaviour of that gallant

given of many hostile acts against the same nation, by the Spaniards, even in Europe; from all which, says the manifesto, "We are confident, we have made it plain to all, who weigh things fairly and impartially, that necessity, honour and justice, have prompted us to undertake this late expedition. First, we have been prompted to it by necessity; it being absolutely necessary to go to war with the Spaniards, since they will not allow us to be at peace with them: and then honour and justice, seeing we cannot pretend to either of these, if we sit still and suffer such insufferable injuries to be done our countrymen, as those we have shown to be done them in the West Indies[a]." But Cromwell rested not in words. He sent orders to Blake to attack the Spaniards in the Mediterranean or elsewhere, and to seize every thing he could lay his hand on belonging unto them. Blake wanted nothing more. "Shortly after, cruising, in conjunction with general Montague, off of Cadiz, to intercept the Spanish Flota, captain Stayner, with three ships of the fleet, fell in with eight galleons, with which he dealt so effectually in two or three hours engagement, that one was sunk, another set on fire, two were forced on shore, and two he took, having on board in money and plate, to the value of six hundred thousand pounds, and only two escaped into Cadiz[b]." This action was on the 9th of September, 1656. Capt. Stayner, in his letter to the generals of the fleet, written on the day of the engagement, says, "The ship he took was as good as all the fleet besides, and the other that capt. Harman took was very rich; though but little silver in her[c]." By the calculation of the Spaniards, there was taken and lost nine millions of pieces of eight, of which about five millions fell to the share of the English[d]. Besides this great sum of money, so useful to Cromwell at this time, advantage was made

[a] Milton's Prose Works, vol. II. p. 273. [b] Burchett, p. 595. [c] Thurloe, vol. V. p. 399. [d] Id. p. 400.

admiral. Very few commanders ever shewed

of the intelligence given by the young marquis of Baydex, a prisoner, who was born in Lima, and understood well the state of the West Indies. Montague spent almost a whole afternoon in discourse with him, and obtained such an account from him, as he thought worth transmitting to Thurloe[a]." So intent was he on procuring all possible helps for his country. "The next year admiral Blake went out with a strong squadron on the same design of intercepting the Spanish West India fleet, and took his station off of Cadiz, where receiving intelligence that those ships were arrived at Teneriffe, he made the best of his way to that island. The Flota lay in the bay of Santa Cruz, drawn up in form of a half-moon, with a strong barricado before them; the bay itself defended by seven forts disposed round the same, with two castles at the entrance, which were well furnished with ordnance: in which posture the Spanish admiral thought himself so secure, that he sent out word by a Dutch merchant, Blake might come if he durst. The admiral having taken a view of the enemy's situation, sent in captain Stayner with a squadron to attack them, who soon forcing his passage into the bay, was presently supported by Blake with the whole fleet. Placing some of his ships so as that they might fire their broadsides into the castles and forts, himself and Stayner engaged the Spanish fleet, and in few hours obtaining a compleat victory, possessed himself of all the ships; but being not able to bring them off, he set them on fire, and they were every one burnt[b]." Sixteen galleons were destroyed, besides others. Most of them had a great part of their loading aboard, which perished all with the ships[c]. "The last intelligence from Cadiz (says Mr. Maynard, the English consul at Lisbon, in a letter to Mr. Thurloe, dated June 6, 1657, N. S.) saies, that the losse of those ships in the

[a] Thurloe, vol. V. p. 434. [b] Burchett, p. 396. [c] Thurloe, vol. VI. p. 312.

like conduct and bravery. Nor were the Eng-

Canaries goes near their hearts; they thinking it a greater losse to them than the galleons with the plate tak n formerly; for the consequence of this losse will be greate, in respect they are wholly disappointed of furnishing the West India with such necessaries as they wante; for those ships were designed to have gone from thence in few days, if general Blake had not prevented them; so now they are driven to their laste shifte to freight Hollanders, and send them some, and some for the India[a]."——Such were the naval exploits under the protector! Exploits, which Mr. Waller has celebrated in more than one of his poems.

——Britain, looking with a just disdain
Upon this gilded majesty of Spain;
And knowing well, that empire must decline,
Whose chief support, and sinews are of coin;
Our nation's solid virtue did oppose,
To the rich troublers of the world's repose.
And now some months, incamping on the main,
Our naval army had besieged Spain:
They that the whole world's monarchy design'd,
Are to their ports by our bold fleet confin'd;
From whence, our red cross they triumphant see,
Riding without a rival on the sea.

And again,———

The sea's our own: and now all nations greet
With bending sails, each vessel of our fleet:
Your pow'r extends as far as winds can blow,
Or swelling sails upon the globe may go.

He has not used too much poetical licence.

Blake, "after this glorious atchievement, returned to the coast of Spain, and having cruised there some time, was coming home with the fleet to England, when he fell ill of a scorbutic fever, of which he died just as he was entring Plymouth sound. Cromwell's parliament, upon the news of his exploit at Santa Cruz, had ordered him a jewel of five hundred pound, and now upon his death

[a] Thurloe, vol. VI. p. 312.

lish less successful on the continent. A body of men being sent into Flanders, joined the

bestowed on him a solemn and sumptuous funeral, interring him in Henry VII.'s chapple[a]." This was on the 4th of September, 1657, "When his corps was conveyed from Greenwich house by water in a barge of state, adorned with mourning, escutcheons, standards, &c. and attended by divers of his highness's privy council, the commissioners of the admiralty, the officers of the army and navy, the lord mayor and aldermen of the city of London, &c. in their passage along the river on the farther side of the bridge and at the Tower, the great guns were discharged, as also on this side of the bridge, till they came to Westminster in the New Palace-Yard. From thence the corps was by the same persons of honor conducted to Henry VII.'s chapple in the Abbey, where it was interred in a vault made on purpose; and at the interment, the regiments of horse and foot which attended gave many great volleys of shot. The whole was very honourably performed, according to the merit of that noble person, who had done so many eminent services for his country both by sea and land[b]." I would not have given this detail of the honours paid to the corpse of this most virtuous, valiant and disinterested man, who loved his country, and was beloved and praised by men of all parties who had any sense of merit: I say, I would not have done this, were it not to shew how different his treatment was now, from what it was after the return of Charles II. when his body (in virtue of his majesty's express command) was taken up and buried in a pit with others in St. Margaret's church-yard, September 12, 1661: "In which place," says Wood, "it now remaineth, enjoying no other monument, but what is reared by his valour, which time itself can hardly deface[c]." This base action bishop Kennet being, as I suppose, ashamed of,

[a] Burchett, p. 396. Wood's Fasti, vol. I. c. 205.

[b] Mercurius Politicus, No. 330. p. 1696. And

[c] Wood's Fasti, *ubi supra*.

French under Turenne, who taking Dunkirk [56], immediately put it in the possession of the

veils over, by saying only " his body was taken up and buried in the church-yard[a]." What authority a late ingenious writer had to say that Blake's " remains were with great decency re-interred in St. Margaret's church-yard," is hard to say[b]. He refers indeed to Kennet in the place above cited. His authority will by no means, we see, bear him out.——Some of the other bodies taken up, and treated thus ignominiously at the same time, were admiral Dean's, a man of bravery, who lost his life in the service of his country; col. Hump. Mackworth's; sir William Constable's; col. Boscawen's, a Cornish gentleman, of a family distinguished by its constant attachment to liberty, and flourishing in great reputation, by the well known exploits of the admiral of that name; and many others too long to be here mentioned. Such was the politeness and humanity introduced by the Restoration!

[56] Dunkirk was immediately put in possession of the protector.] France and England had been but on indifferent terms. Bourdeaux had arrived in London, and entered on a negotiation for peace. He met with various difficulties and delays; and during the treaty, news arrived that an embargo was laid on the English, in the ports of France. This was by way of reprisal for some hostile acts said to be done by them on the subjects and possessions of that crown. Hereupon the treaty was at a stand, and Cromwell refused absolutely to conclude on any thing till the embargo was taken off. The French were forced to comply, and great was the joy expressed by them for the peace. Cardinal Mazarine, in a letter to Bourdeaux, dated Paris, December 8, 1655, N. S. writes as follows. " You will understand by monsieur de Brienne all the rejoicings that were made here for the peace. I will only tell you, that amongst other

[a] Register and Chronicle, p. 536. fol. Lond. 1728. [b] Biographia Britannica, p. 816.

protector.——Such were the actions of Crom-

signs of joy, the king hath ordered all the guns to be discharged generally in all the frontier places of this kingdom; a thing which was never done; and likewise his majesty will have me to have the honor to entertain him to day to dinner in publick, and you may believe we shall not forget to remember in a solemn manner, the health of the lord protector[a]." After this, in the year 1657, a league offensive and defensive against Spain, was made between France and England: by which the protector engaged to send six thousand foot into Flanders, on condition that the French should undertake the siege of Mardyke, Gravelin, or Dunkirk, and that if either of the two former places were first taken, it should be put into his hands, to be as a hostage till he should be made master of Dunkirk, which he was to keep, restoring the other to France[b]. These troops were sent into Flanders at the joint expence of the contracting powers, but on their landing were taken into French pay, and took place of all the regiments of Turenne's army, save the two old regiments of guards[c]. Mardyke the first campaign being taken, was delivered up to the English, who greatly complained of their being ill used by the French, in respect of provisions. Cromwell was ill pleased that Dunkirk had not been besieged instead of Mardyke, and therefore peremptorily insisted on its being undertaken early in the year 1658. Mazarine durst not refuse. Turenne had orders to invest it. He obeyed, and was soon joined by the English forces. Lockhart, the English ambassador, had the command in chief of these, under whom was Morgan, an officer of great bravery and experience. The Spaniards, on hearing of the siege, marched to raise it. This produced a battle, in which the victory fell to the allied army, and Dunkirk surrendered on conditions. The next day Lewis XIV. and all his court entered trium-

[a] Thurloe, vol. IV. p. 254. [b] Life of Turenne, vol. I. p. 297.
[c] Thurloe, vol. VI. p. 287 and 346. And note 52.

well abroad;—actions which drew the eye of

phantly into the town, and then delivered it up, according to treaty, to the English, June 15, 1658, O. S.——Thus had Oliver his desire, of obtaining a footing on the continent, at the expence almost wholly of France. Lockhart in his letter to Thurloe, written the day before Dunkirk was delivered into his hands, has the following expressions. "To morrow before five of the clock at night, his highness's forces under my command, will be possessed of Dunkirk.———I have a great many disputes with the cardinal, about several things. I have agreed he shall have all the cannon in the town, that have the armes of France upon them; but some other things, concerning shipping in the harbor, and the quartering the French guards, and lodging the chief officers of the army, is yett in controversie; neverthelesse I must say, I find him willing to hear reason; and though the generallity of court and arms are even mad to see themselves part with what they call *un si bon morceau*, or so delicatt a bit, yet he is still constant to his promises, and seems to be as glad in the generall (notwithstanding our differences in little particulars) to give this place to his highness, as I can be to receive it. The king is also exceeding oblyging and civil, and hath more trew worth in him than I could have imagined[a]."——From this letter, it demonstrably appears that the following anecdote of Dr. Welwood's, though confidently delivered, and frequently, from him, repeated, is an absolute fiction. "There was an article," says he, "between France and the protector, that if Dunkirk came to be taken, it should immediately be delivered up to the English; and his ambassador Lockhart had orders to take possession of it accordingly. When the French army being joined with the English auxiliaries, was in its march to invest the town, Cromwell sent one morning for the French ambassador to

[a] Thurloe, vol. VII. p. 173.

by-standers, and procured him an extraordinary renown!——To these we must add his deeds of real merit, and worthy of the highest

Whitehall, and upbraided him publicly for his master's designed breach of promise in giving secret orders to the French general to keep possession of Dunkirk, in case it was taken, contrary to the treaty between them. The ambassador protested he knew nothing of the matter, as indeed he did not, and begged leave to assure him that there was no such thing thought of. Upon which Cromwell pulling a paper out of his pocket, Here (says he) is a copy of the cardinal's order: and I desire you to dispatch immediately an express to let him know, that I am not to be imposed upon; and that if he deliver not up the keys of the town of Dunkirk to Lockhart within an hour after it shall be taken, tell him I'll come in person, and demand them at the gates of Paris. There were but four persons said to be privy to the order, the queen mother, the cardinal, the mareschal de Turenne, and a secretary, whose name it is not fit at this time to mention. The cardinal for a long time blamed the queen, as if she might possibly have blabbed it out to some of her women: whereas it was found after the secretary's death, that he had kept a secret correspondence with Cromwell for several years; and therefore it was not doubted but he had sent him the copy of the order above-mentioned[a]." What invention! What *falsehood*! Excellent is the use of state papers, were it only to detect such hasty, credulous, positive writers.——Burnet tells us, "The trade of England suffered more in this, than in any former war[b];" and Puffendorf, if I remember right, says, 1500 ships were taken by the Spaniards. It is not improbable. The commerce of England was at a greater height now than formerly. And the Spaniards by the loss they had sustained, were incapable of making any head, unless by privateering, whereby indeed the merchants of England could

[a] Memoirs, p. 96. 12mo. Lond. 1736. [b] Vol. I. p. 119.

praise, viz. his interposition in behalf of the Vaudois [57], when under persecution from their sovereign on account of their religion, and

not but be sufferers. This always will be the case of a commercial nation, with superior force, braving her enemies, and blocking up, or destroying their fleets. However, in such a case, the merchants, as sufferers, must have leave to complain.

[57] His interposition in behalf of the Vaudois, &c.] If protestantism was merely an hatred of the pope; if it consisted barely in receiving the communion in both kinds, or chanting Clement Marot's, or our Sternhold's old psalms, it would justly be liable to the ridicule and contempt with which it has been treated, of late, by some men of genius [a]. Or if indeed it tended to destroy monarchical power [b], to subvert the laws, and throw all things into confusion, princes would do well to be on their guard against it.—— But if, on the contrary, protestantism, as such, is merely a revival of the doctrine of Jesus Christ, whereby the knowledge and worship of the one true God of the universe was established, and piety and virtue, in their full extent, recommended, and commanded, under the sanctions of rewards and punishments in another world: if this religion is simple, intelligible, friendly, and benevolent, and void of every thing to amuse or corrupt, then it is worthy of esteem. What is the real state of the case, those only are judges who are well versed in the writings of the New Testament, which the authors above referred to, I presume, do not pretend to be. One strong presumption, however, in favour of protestantism is, its being the constant object of the hatred of those kings and priests who delight to trample under foot, the liberties of mankind, and render all subject to their own wicked wills. A doctrine of liberty can ill be digested by men sensible of designs subversive of it.

[a] See Memoirs of the House of Brandenburg, p. 144. [b] See Voltaire's Age of Lewis XIV. vol. II. p. 180.

the generous relief he afforded them in their

Hence have arisen the persecutions of protestants, and in this light have they, I think, generally been viewed. Almost every where, when in power, have the ruling ecclesiastics stirred up princes, to crush and extirpate a race of men who constantly oppose themselves to their designs. The Vaudois, who long before Luther's time (perhaps from the first ages of Christianity) had entertained opinions contrary to those of the church of Rome, and were for the most part a plain honest, well-meaning kind of men, (that had been cruelly used for their opinions only) "had now a new persecution raised against them by the duke of Savoy. So Cromwell sent to Mazarine desiring him to put a stop to that; adding that he knew well they had that duke in their power, and could restrain him as they pleased: and if they did not, he must presently break with them. Mazarine objected to this as unreasonable: he promised to do good offices; but he could not be obliged to answer for the effects they might have. This did not satisfy Cromwell: so they obliged the duke of Savoy to put a stop to that unjust fury: and Cromwell raised a great sum for the Vaudois, and sent over Morland to settle all their concerns, and to supply all their losses[a]."——Mr. (afterwards Sir Samuel) Morland, has written "The History of the Evangelical Churches of the valleys of Piemont:" in which, among other things, is "a most naked and punctual relation of the late bloody massacre, 1655, and a narrative of all the following transactions to the year of our Lord 1658[b]." From authentic papers in this book, it appears that the protestants under the protection of edicts, confirmed the preceding year by their sovereign, and guilty of no crime, were, by an order, dated January 25, 1655, obliged to quit houses and estates, within three days, upon pain of death, in case they did not make it appear that they were become Catholics within twenty days. This, though in the depth of winter, old and

[a] Burnet, vol. I. p. 120. [b] Folio, London, 1658.

distresses and sufferings. This (with very young complied with. Soon after, a body of troops was sent into the villages and districts of these unhappy creatures, who plundering and spoiling every thing that came in their way, provoked the sufferers who had notice of it so much, that they stood up in their own defence, and put to flight their persecutors. Orders hereupon were given to afford no quarter. In consequence hereof a terrible scene was exhibited. The utmost cruelties were exercised upon persons of every age, sex and condition. Hanging, burning, dismembering, ravishing, and every barbarous and cruel punishment, the most diabolic imagination could invent was inflicted on them. The Swiss protestant cantons, alarmed at these proceedings, interposed with the duke of Savoy, in behalf of these his much wronged subjects. But in vain. They had little attention paid to them, and were out of hopes of procuring any redress.——The news however reaching Cromwell, "He was so deeply affected with the poor people's calamities, that he was often heard to say, that it lay as near, or rather nearer his heart, than if it had concerned his nearest and dearest relations in the world. Neither indeed were the effects of his charity and Christian compassion, at all inferiour to those his zealous, earnest, and pathetick expressions[a]." He immediately ordered a collection through the kingdom for a supply of their necessities, which, through the innate generosity of the English, amounted to the sum of thirty-eight thousand, ninety-seven pounds, seven shillings and three-pence[b]. The protector contributed towards this, out of his own pocket, two thou-

[a] Morland, p. 552. [b] Cromwell's adversaries, who stuck at nothing to blacken him, had the boldness to affirm, "That most of the money, which was collected for this purpose, was returned, and applied to the levying of a body of Swiss, to be brought over to controul the army, and reduce the people to an implicit obedience to his government."—Letter from a true and lawful Member of Parliament, p. 56. This is a ridiculous tale, and abundantly confuted by Morland's accounts, in which the distribution of the charity appears to have been honestly and exactly made.

many other instances which might be men-

sand pounds[a].——Our forefathers, we see, were not wholly unacquainted with that spirit, which the present age, with some reason, values itself so much upon. With this liberality, however, Cromwell did not rest satisfied. He immediately writ to the kings of Sweden and Denmark, to the States-General, and the protestant Swiss cantons, requesting them to use their interposition in behalf of their persecuted brethren, and declaring that if it should prove ineffectual, that he was ready to advise with them about such means as might be most conducing to their redress and relief[b]. And that he might in the most powerful manner effect it, he gave orders to Mr. Morland, May 23, 1655, to prepare himself, "in order to carry a message from his highness to the duke of Savoy, to intreat him to recal that merciless edict, and to restore the remnant of his poor distressed subjects to their antient liberties and habitations; as likewise in his way to deliver a letter from his highness to the king of France, to sollicit his majesty to employ his power and interest with the duke for the same purpose." The orders were soon obeyed. The letter to the French king was delivered, who returned an answer very respectful; containing assurances of his having already mediated in behalf of the protestants in Piedmont, and that he would still continue so to do. To this was added, that he had grounds to hope, that his mediation would not be unprofitable. Morland then proceeded on to Turin, where, after being nobly entertained, he had audience of the duke of Savoy, in the presence of Madame Royale, his mother. Here, in a very eloquent and pathetic speech, he lamented the unheard-of cruelties inflicted on the duke's protestant subjects, and said every thing to move him to compassion. After this the protector's letter was delivered on the same subject. Madame Royale[c] hereupon told the English

[a] Morland, p. 588. [b] Id. p. 554. 562.

[c] The duke was young, and under the tuition of his mother.

tioned of his concern for the protestant inter-

envoy, " That as on the one side she could not but extreamly applaud the singular goodness and charity of his highness the lord protector towards their subjects, whose condition had been represented to him so exceeding sad and lamentable, as she perceived by that discourse of his; so on the other side she could not but extreamly admire, that the malice of men should ever proceed so far, as to cloath such fatherlike and tender chastisements of their most rebellious and insolent subjects, with so black and ugly a character, to render them thereby odious to all neighbouring princes and states, with whom they so much desired to keep a good understanding and friendship, especially with so great and powerful a prince as his highness the lord protector; and withall, she did not doubt, but that when he should be particularly and clearly informed of the truth of all passages, he would be so fully satisfied with the duke's proceedings, that he would not give the least countenance to those his disobedient subjects. But however, for his highness's sake, they would not only freely pardon their rebellious subjects for those so heinous crimes which they had committed, but also would accord to them such priviledges and graces, as could not but give the lord protector a sufficient evidence how great a respect they bare both to his person and mediation[a]."—In consequence of the protector's application to the protestant princes and states, a general disposition appeared to favour the Vaudois. And very probable it is, the court of Turin would have been obliged not only to have given them a pardon, but proper security for the enjoyment of their religion and liberties. Unhappily, they were too hasty in procuring themselves a little ease. For while the Dutch ambassador was on his journey in their behalf, and Oliver had sent two persons to join with Morland in negotiating a peace, a treaty was concluded by means of the French

[a] Morland, p. 575.

ambassador Servient, and the ambassadors of the Swiss Protestant Cantons; a treaty specious in appearance, but productive of many woes.——Cromwell, however, ceased not to take care of the interest of those poor people. For understanding that they were still oppressed in many instances, though a stop was put to the massacres and other notorious acts of violence, he sent a letter to Lockhart, his ambassador at the court of France, dated May 26, 1658, in which he desires him, "To redouble his instances with the French king, in such pathetick and affectionate expressions, as may be in some measure suitable to the greatness of their present sufferings and grievances, which (the truth is, says he) are almost inexpressible."——In this letter is contained a list of their grievances, whereof Lockhart is ordered to make his majesty thoroughly sensible, and to persuade him to give speedy and effectual orders to his ambassador, who resides in the duke's court, to act vigorously in their behalf[a].—This detail plainly shews the little exactness there is in the above-cited passage from Burnet. ——It is not impossible however, if Cromwell had lived a little longer, he would have fully carried his point with regard to these men; his connections and influence in France being about this time at their height.—I will add one relation more on this subject from Clarendon, a relation honourable indeed to Cromwell, though I am afraid not much to be depended on; as no traces, except of the tumult, are to be found in Lockhart's letters.——"In the city of Nismes, which is one of the fairest in the province of Languedoc, and where those of the religion do most abound, there was a great faction at that season when the consuls (who are the chief magistrates) were to be chosen. Those of the reformed religion had the confidence to set up one of themselves for that magistracy; which they of the Roman religion resolved to oppose with all their power. The dissention between them made so much noise, that the intendant of the province, who is the supream minister in

[a] Morland, p. 697, &c.

all civil affairs throughout the whole province, went thither to prevent any disorder that might happen. When the day of election came, those of the religion possessed themselves with many armed men of the Town-house, where the election was to be made. The magistrates sent to know what their meaning was; to which they answered, 'They were there to give their voices for the choice of the new consuls, and to be sure that the election was fairly made.' The bishop of the city, the intendant of the province, with all the officers of the church, and the present magistrates of the town, went together in their robes to be present at the election, without any suspicion that there would be any force used. When they came near the gate of the Town-house, which was shut, and they supposed would be opened when they came, they within poured out a volley of musket shot upon them, by which the dean of the church, and two or three of the magistrates of the town, were killed upon the place, and very many others wounded; whereof some died shortly after. In this confusion, the magistrates put themselves into as good a posture to defend themselves as they could, without any purpose of offending the others, till they should be better provided; in order to which they sent an express to the court with a plain relation of the whole matter of fact; and that there appeared to be no manner of combination with those of the religion in other places of the province, but that it was an insolence in those of the place, upon the presumption of their great numbers, which were little inferiour to those of the catholics. The court was glad of the occasion, and resolved that this provocation, in which other places were not involved, and which nobody could excuse, should warrant all kinds of severity in that city, even to the pulling down their temples, and expelling many of them for ever out of the city; which, with the execution and forfeiture of many of the principal persons, would be a general mortification to all of the religion in France, with whom they were heartily offended; and a part of the army was forthwith ordered to march towards Nismes, to see

est, and the protection he always granted it)

this executed with the utmost rigour. Those of the religion in the town, were quickly sensible into what condition they had brought themselves; and sent, with all possible submission, to the magistrates to excuse themselves, and to impute what had been done to the rashness of particular men, who had no order for what they did.

"The magistrates answered, that they were glad they were sensible of their miscarriage; but that they could say nothing upon the subject, till the king's pleasure should be known; to whom they had sent a full relation of all that had passed. The others very well knew what the king's pleasure would be, and forthwith sent an express, one Moulins, who had lived many years in that place, and in Montpelier, to Cromwell, to desire his protection and interposition. The express made so much haste, and found so good a reception the first hour he came, that Cromwell, after he had received the whole account, bad him refresh himself after so long a journey, and he would take such care of his business, that by the time he came to Paris he should find it dispatched; and that night, sent away another messenger to his embassador Lockhart; who, by the time Moulins came thither, had so far prevailed with the cardinal, that orders were sent to stop the troops, which were upon their march to Nismes; and, within few days after, Moulins returned with a full pardon, and amnesty from the king, under the great seal of France, so fully confirmed with all circumstances, that there was never farther mention made of it, but all things passed as if there had never been any such thing. So that no body can wonder, that his memory remains still in those parts, and with those people, in great veneration[a]."——I will not vouch, as I hinted above, for the truth of this relation. It is certain the behaviour of the protestants is misrepresented, as will appear from the following passage of Lockhart's to Thurloe, dated

[a] Clarendon, vol. VI p. 651.

yielded just matter of praise to his admirers[58]

Paris, January 12, 1658, N. S.——"Wee were yesterday alarmed with ill news from Nismes, one of the most considerable cities of the protestants. It was reported, that they and the Roman catholicks had been by the ears, and that much blood had been shed. Their courier arrived this morning, and informs, there hath been some dispute upon the account, that the governor, by the instigation of their bishops, would have deprived the citizens of their priviledge of choosing their magistrates: the catholicks, as well as the protestants, opposed the governor, who had armed the garrison against this town. There is not above half a score killed of the garrison, and the chief of the protestants saved the bishop's and governor's life[a]." How different this from Clarendon! It is strange he never could adhere to truth in his narratives!

[58] This yielded just matter of praise to his admirers, &c.] Let us hear Mr. Morland, a gentleman, a scholar, and a close observer of the actions of the protector. In his dedication of the book, so much made use of in the preceding note, addressing himself to Oliver, he speaks as follows. "It is an observation of that excellent prince, the duke of Rohan, that the interest of the chief magistrate of England is, by all means to become head of the reformed party throughout Europe; and it is your highness's glory and crown, that you have formed all your counsels in order thereunto, and laying aside all other reasons of state, have adhered only to this, that your own interest may appear one and the same with the universal interest of the evangelical churches in their respective nations. The piety of which resolution the Lord himself hath born witness to, by a continued series of wonderful providences and heavenly benedictions that have always accompanied you in your most honourable and heroic enterprizes; whereas those other princes that went before you, who had little regard in the

[a] Thurloe, vol. VI. p. 727.

and has accordingly been celebrated by them.

administration of their government, either to the honest maxims of human policy, or to the wholesome rules of the holy Scriptures (which they ought to have bound about their necks, and to have graven on the tables of their hearts) but miserably spent the best of their powerful interests, and precious talents, in persecuting tender consciences in their own dominions, and most treacherously betraying the protestant cause in Germany, France, and other countries, did at last, to their great astonishment, even in the height of those their oppressions, and in the midst of all their jollities, behold with their eyes a *Mene Tekel* upon the walls of their palaces and banquetting houses, and of late years in all the branches of their families have tasted the bitter fruits of their own unrighteous doings. This is a doom which was long since pronounced against them by the most pious pastors and professors of foreign churches, who oft-times heretofore have been heard to say, That God would one day render a recompence to that house for all their perfidious dealings towards his poor servants, and now many of those godly men, who have lived to see the execution of those his righteous judgments, considering on the other side the wonderful passages of divine providence leading the way to the extirpation of that family, and to the placing of your highness in the princely dignity, have of late frequently declared (as I myself have been divers times an ear witness) with tears of joy in their eyes, that they looked on you as a man miraculously raised up by God, and endowed with an extraordinary spirit of wisdom and courage, to plead the cause of his afflicted ones against the mighty, that they may no more oppress. Who is there so ignorant in these our days who knows not, that all the peace, tranquillity, and privileges, which those of the reformed religion enjoy at present in any part of the European world, does some way or other own your patronage and protection? And who is there likewise that knows not that when first you were called forth in the view of the world, and singled out

——Let us now take a view of Cromwell's

as a chosen instrument to go forth to help the Lord against the mighty, and to fight his battles against the great persecutors, the estate and condition of the church militant was but at a very low ebb? The mighty floods of popery and atheism were broken in upon the isles of Great Britain and Ireland, and the poor protestants in all other parts were even sinking down under the heavy burthens laid upon their shoulders by those cruel task-masters of the church of Rome; yea, the plowers were almost every where plowing and making long furrows upon the backs of the faithful ones in all the quarters and corners of their habitations! It was a time when the enemies of the Lord took crafty counsel together against his people, and were confederate against his hidden ones (the tabernacles of Edom and the Ishmaelites! Amaleck and the Philistines, with them that dwell at Tyre!) they said one to another, Come and let us cut them off from being a people, that so their name may be had no more in remembrance. And the truth is, they had undoubtedly compassed their hellish designs, had not the shepherd of Israel awoke as a man out of sleep, and found out a man (I mean your highness) to stand in the gap, girding you with strength unto the battle, and putting his own sword into your hand, to smite those his enemies in the hinder parts, and put them to a perpetual reproach[a]."

This application of ancient names of Gentile[b] and idolatrous nations, to the Romish church, and the opinion so publicly avowed of Cromwell's being raised up by Providence to defend God's true church, and confound its enemies: these things, I say, render probable the conjecture of a very learned and judicious friend, that Milton intended some lines in his Samson Agonistes, should be applied to

[a] Morland's Dedication to his History of the Churches of Piemont, p. 2.
[b] See Burnet de futurâ Judæorum Restauratione, p. 19. 8vo. Lond. 1727. And Dr. Newton on the Prophecies, vol. III. p. 379. 8vo Lond. 1760.

government at home, in which there were many things truly laudable. His court was

Cromwell and his followers, and the national desertion of his cause, his family, and his friends. Such are the following, though mixt with a circumstance or two peculiar to the history of Samson.

CHORUS.

In seeking just occasion to provoke
The Philistine, thy country's enemy,
Thou never wast remiss, I bear thee witness:
Yet Israel still serves with all his sons.

SAMSON.

That fault I take not on me, but transfer
On Israel's governors, and heads of tribes,
Who seeing those great acts, which God had done
Singly by me against their conquerors,
Acknowledg'd not, or not at all consider'd
Deliverance offer'd: I on th' other side
Us'd no ambition to commend my deeds,
The deeds themselves, though mute, spoke loud the doer, &c. [a]
* * * * * * * * *
Had Judah that day join'd, or one whole tribe,
They had by this possess'd the tow'rs of Gath,
And lorded over them whom now they serve:
But what more oft in nations grown corrupt,
And by their vices brought to servitude,
Than to love bondage more than liberty,
Bondage with ease, than strenuous liberty;
And to despise, or envy, or suspect
Whom God hath of his special favor rais'd
As their deliverer; if he ought begin,
How frequent to desert him, and at last
To heap ingratitude on worthiest deeds [b]?
* * * * * * * * * *
But I a private person, whom my country
As a league-breaker gave up bound, presum'd
Single rebellion and did hostile acts.
I was no private but a person rais'd
With strength sufficient and command from heaven
To free my country; if their servile minds
Me their deliverer sent would not receive,
But to their masters gave me up for nought,
Th' unworthier they; whence to this day they serve, &c. [c]

[a] Samson Agonistes, v. 237. [b] Id. v. 265. [c] Id. v. 1208.

more free from vice than the generality of courts are supposed to be, nor did he care to counte-

To return.——We find another of his panegyrists speaking of him in yet loftier terms, in the following passages. "He is not only a refuge for good men, and the very sanctuary of religion, not its fortresse only and sure castle of defence; but he hath his troops flying to disarm tyrants and oppressors; his forces are ready to march out against the storms and tempests of any menacing enemy. You may see him like a champion with a great spirit and gauntlet, stalking forward like a giant with lightning in his eyes, and an all-conquering look, stretching forth a brawney arme as if he meant to cut off a hundred thousand heads at a blow; you may see him dealing with wild beasts and serpents, and how he clears the coast amidst a company of devils: how he makes a lane through them, and opens a passage for God's people through all hazards and difficulties, amidst all the gloomy powers and principalities of darknesse. You may see angels heading his weapons, and his lances sent him from heaven: his graces are all zealous to be serviceable in the advancement and guardianship of the true protestant interest[a]." In such strains were these generous actions spoken of in his own times!——The following wish of a very modern writer will be deemed perhaps equally as honourable to the memory of Cromwell. It is put into the mouth of Burnet just after the revolution. "Oh!" says he, "that I might see the day, when our deliverer [William III.] shall become, what a bold usurper nobly figured to himself in the middle of this century, the soul and conductor of the protestant cause through all Europe! and, that as Rome hath hitherto been the centre of slavish impositions and antichristian politicks, the court of England may henceforth be the constant refuge and asylum of fainting liberty and religion[b]."

[a] The unparalleled Monarch, p. 14. 12mo. Lond. 1659.

[b] Moral and Political Dialogues, p. 255. 8vo. Lond. 1759.

nance[59] and encourage any of profligate man-

[59] His court was more free from vice, &c.] However it happens, men are generally prejudiced against the morals and integrity of courts. Perhaps, it is through ignorance, or, perhaps, through prejudice, or some other cause equally as unreasonable. But be this as it may, it is certain divines and poets, historians and moralists, caution their readers against the danger of such places, and exhort them to fly swiftly from their infection. And some there have been, long versed in them, who have declared them incompatible with virtue[a]. Quotations to support these assertions would be needless. Allowances, however, ought to be made for the language of declamation, resentment, disappointment, and the heightenings of poetical compositions. Though, after all, it were well if there was not ground, fully sufficient to complain.——In this respect, however, as well as many others, the court of the protector was distinguished. All here had an air of sobriety and decency: nothing of riot or debauch was seen or heard of. Cromwell's own manners were grave, and such were the manners of those around him, though seasoned, on occasion, with pomp, state and pleasantry. "What palace," says a contemporary writer, "was ever less adulterated than his? Nay in that very place, where pimps and panders were used to traffique, and sport in the base revellings of lust, there is now sitting a religious covent of our best and most orthodox divines; and whereas formerly it was very difficult to live at court without a prejudice to religion, it is now impossible to be a courtier without it. Whosoever looks now to get preferment at court, religion must be brought with him instead of money for a place: here are none of those usual throngs of vicious and debaucht swash bucklers, none of those servile and tayl-shaking spaniels, none of those moe hair, linsie-woolsy, nits and lice gentlemen, no such changeable camelions[b]."——

[a] See Whiston's Life, p. 3, 4. 8vo. Lond. 1749.

[b] Unparalleled Monarch, p. 70.

ners.—He filled the benches with able and

Let us add hereunto the testimony of an adversary. "His own court," says he, "was regulated according to a severe discipline; here no drunkard, nor whore-master, nor any guilty of bribery, was to be found, without severe punishment[a]." But that we may not rest wholly on words, we will produce some facts which will fully evince the truth of the text. The two following passages are related by Whitlock. ——"Being now in London, and hearing of the queen of Sweden's intention to come into England, I made it known to the protector; but he would not give her any encouragement; he put it all upon the ill example she would give here by her course of life, and would not be satisfied by me to the contrary.——Graef Hannibal Sesthead, a lord of Denmark, who had married the king's half sister there, and been vice-roy of Norway, but afterwards grew out of favour with his king, came into England to see the protector, and made his applications to me, whom he had been acquainted with in Germany. I brought him to the protector, and he used him with all courtesy; he dined with him several times, and the protector was much taken with his company; he being a very ingenious man, spake many languages, and English perfectly well, and had been employed in several great charges and ambassies, but he was a very debauched person; which, when the protector knew, he would not admit him any more into his conversation; and, not long after, he departed out of England[b]."

Bishop Burnet informs us, that the earl of Orrery told him, "That coming one day to Cromwell, during the debates about his accepting the title of king, and telling him he had been in the city all that day, Cromwell asked him what news he had heard there: the other answered, that he was told he was in treaty with the king, who was to be restored, and to marry his daughter. Cromwell expressing no indignation at this, lord Orrery said, in the state to which

[a] Bates, p. 191. [b] Whitlock's Memorials, p. 599. 627.

honest judges, and caused [60] justice, for the

things were brought, he saw not a better expedient: they might bring him in on what terms they pleased; and Cromwell might retain the same authority he then had with less trouble. Cromwell answered, the king can never forgive his father's blood. Orrery said, he was one of many concerned in that, but he would be alone in the merit of restoring him. Cromwell replied, he was so damnably debauched he would undo us all; and so turned to another discourse without any emotion[a]."——Lady Mary Cromwell, in a letter written to her brother Henry Cromwell, June 23, 1656, says, that the reason of her father's not embracing of the terms offered by the earl of Warwick, in consideration of the marriage proposed between his grandson Mr. Rich, and their sister Frances, for some time, "was not so much estat, as some private reasons,——which was a dislik to the young person, which he had from som reports of his being a visious man, given to play and such lik things, which offis was done by som that had a mind to brak of the match[b]." The reports, however, on examination, proving false, the match was concluded with the consent of the protector. These passages sufficiently evince the care of Oliver to avoid giving even countenance to vice; and also the regularity of manners in those who partook of his favour and encouragement. We may well suppose the nation must be improved in their morals by such examples.

[60] He filled the benches with able and honest judges, &c.] The historians of all parties have, by the notoriety of the fact, been forced to pay this tribute of praise to Cromwell. I could mention many; but will content myself with the authorities of Clarendon and Coke, who, though of different principles, were equally foes to the government and memory of the protector. The former affirms, "That in matters, which did not concern the life of his jurisdiction, he seemed to have great reverence for the law, rarely interposing be-

[a] Burnet, vol. I. p. 107. [b] Thurloe, vol. V. p. 146.

most part, to be equally and impartially ad-

tween party and party[a]." The latter assures us "That Westminster-hall was never replenished with more learned and upright judges than by him; nor was justice either in law or equity, in civil cases, more equally distributed, where he was not a party[b]." The names of his judges, possibly, may not be unacceptable to some readers. They were as follows: the lord-chief justices Glyn and St. John; the justices Warburton, Newdigate, Atkins, Hale, Windham; the barons Nicholas, Parker, Hill[c]. The commissioners of the great seal, at first were the famous Mr. Whitlock, Widrington and Lenthal; afterwards Fiennes, Lisle and Lenthal. The gentlemen of the long robe still mention the names of some of these persons with great honour. How solicitous Cromwell was to appoint the most able and upright persons to fill the important posts of the law, will best appear by the following quotations.——"Cromwell seeing him (Mr. Hale) possest of so much practice, and he being one of the eminentest men of the law, who was not at all afraid of doing his duty in those critical times, resolved to take him off from it, and raise him to the bench. Mr. Hale saw well enough the snare laid for him, and though he did not much consider the prejudice it would be to himself, to exchange the easy and safer profits he had by his practice for a judge's place in the common pleas, which he was required to accept of, yet he did deliberate more on the lawfulness of taking a commission from usurpers; but having considered well of this, he came to be of opinion, that it being absolutely necessary to have justice and property kept up at all times, it was no sin to take a commission from usurpers, if he made no declaration of his acknowledging their authority, which he never did. He was much urged to accept of it by some eminent men of his own profession, who were of the king's

[a] Clarendon, vol. VI. p. 650. [b] Detection, vol. II. p. 72. [c] Catalogue of the Dukes, Marquisses, &c. with all the honours that his highness hath bestowed since he began his government to this present. By T. W. i. e. Tho. Walkley, 8vo.

ministered.——He sought out every where for men of abilities[61], in order properly to employ

party, as Sir Orlando Bridgman, and Sir Geoffery Palmer; and was also satisfied concerning the lawfulness of it, by the resolution of some famous divines, in particular Dr. Sheldon, and Dr. Henchman, who were afterwards promoted to the sees of Canterbury and London. To these were added the importunities of all his friends, who thought, that in a time of so much danger and oppression, it might be no small security to the nation, to have a man of his integrity and abilities on the bench: and the usurpers themselves held him in that estimation, that they were glad to have him give a countenance to their courts, and by promoting one that was known to have different principles from them, affected the reputation of honouring and trusting men of eminent virtues, of what perswasion soever they might be, in relation to publick matters[a]."——Another work speaks more plainly on this subject.——"He [Cromwell] studied to seek out able and honest men, and to employ them. And so having heard that my father had a very great reputation in Scotland, for piety and integrity, tho' he knew him to be a royalist, he sent to him, desiring him to accept of a judge's place, and to do justice in his own country, hoping only that he would not act against his government, but he would not press him to subscribe or swear to it[b]." How great! how generous! it was hardly possible, but a man of such a disposition must be well served.

[61] He sought out every where for men of abilities, and gave them proper employment.] That princes have such poor tools oftentimes about them is owing to their own weakness or negligence. They have not either sense enough to discern, or fortitude to refuse or repel such as, without merit, aspire to their favour. So that their ministers are sometimes of different and contradictory characters,

[a] Burnet's Life of Sir Matthew Hale, p. 35. 8vo. Lond. 1682.

[b] Burnet's History of his own Times, vol. I. p. 125.

them: endeavouring hereby to provide for his own honour and the nation's welfare.——Learn-

and hinder more than forward the business in which they pretend to engage. Mobs are in most courts; wise men are distinguished alone in those whose princes themselves excel. From the choice of ministers and favourites the character of the sovereign may be oftentimes taken.—— Cromwell was all eyes. He saw every thing, he judged of every thing; few persons escaped his notice; merit was the object of his choice. The authorities I shall now produce, will, I am persuaded, justify my assertions. The following anecdote is prior, indeed, in point of time, to the protectorate, but it is properly a part of Cromwell's history, and tends to illustrate most this part of his character. It is given by Mr. Morrice, a gentleman of character, who had it from lord Broghill. —— "After the horrid murder was committed upon the king's sacred person, lord Broghill, giving up all Ireland for lost, retired into England, to a small estate left him by his father at Marston in Somersetshire, where he lived till 1649. During this retirement, his lordship lamenting the sad condition of the royal family, and the ruin of these kingdoms, and reflecting upon the cruelties and inhumanities of the Irish rebels, he, at last, thought it too much below his spirit and duty to sit still, and see all rights thus trampled under foot by usurpers. He resolved, therefore, to attempt something for the publick as well as private good; and, accordingly, under pretence of going to the Spa waters in Germany, he intended to cross the seas, and apply himself to king Charles II. for a commission to raise what forces he could to restore his majesty in Ireland, and to recover his own estate, then given for lost. But in order to the accomplishing this resolution, he sent to the earl of Warwick, who had an interest in the prevailing party, desiring him to procure a licence for him to pass beyond the seas to Spa; not acquainting that lord with the main intent of his going, and only communicating his design, to some friends, whom he imagined to be loyal and

ing he favoured, and was munificent to such as

secret. He had already made up a considerable sum of money, and was now arrived at London, in order to prosecute his voyage; when a gentleman belonging to Cromwell, who was then made general in Sir Thomas Fairfax's place, came to his lodgings, to let him know that the general, his master, intended to wait upon him, if he knew but the hour when he would be at leizure to receive him. My lord was very much surprized at this passage, because he had never any acquaintance with Cromwell, nor ever exchanged one word with him. Wherefore he told the gentleman, he presumed he was mistaken, and that he was not the person to whom the general had sent him with that message. The gentleman made answer, he was sent to lord Broghill; and, therefore, if he was that lord, he was sent to him. My lord finding that there was no mistake in the gentleman, owned that he was the lord Broghill; but desired the gentleman to present his humble service to the general, and to let him know that he would not give him the trouble to come to him, but that he would wait on the general, if he knew where he was, and when he might; and to that end would immediately make himself ready for it. The gentleman told my lord he would acquaint his excellency with it, and so took his leave. His lordship, in the mean time, was mightily concerned what Cromwell's business with him should be. While he was thus musing, Cromwell came to him; and, after mutual salutations, told him, he had a great kindness and respect for his lordship, and therefore he was come to acquaint him with something that did very nearly concern him, and to give him his advice in the matter. He then proceeded to let him know, that the council of state was acquainted with his designs, that he was come to town in order to his passing beyond sea; but instead of going to the Spa for his gout, was going to the king for a commission to raise men, and oppose their government in Ireland; and that under this pretence the earl of Warwick had got him a licence from the state to pass the seas. As

Cromwell was going on, my lord interrupted him, and told him, he presumed his excellency was mistaken in the matter, for he was not capable of doing any thing that way; and therefore desired him to believe no such thing. But Cromwell told him, he had good proof for what he said, and could shew copies of his letters to that purpose, and therefore desired him not to deceive himself; for the council had ordered him to be clapt in the Tower upon his arrival in town; which had been executed accordingly, had not he himself interposed in his behalf, and procured some time to confer with him, to see whether he might not be drawn off from his purpose. Upon this, and other circumstances, my lord, finding that he was discovered, begged Cromwell's pardon, and thanked him for his kindness, and desired him to advise him what to do. Cromwell told him, that neither he, nor the council, were strangers to his actions in the Irish war; and therefore the subduing of the Irish rebels being left to his care, he had obtained leave from the council to make an offer to lord Broghill, that if he would serve in the wars against the Irish, he should have a general officer's command, and should have no oaths or engagements laid upon him, nor should be obliged to fight against any but the Irish. My lord did not a little wonder at this large offer, and would have excused himself, desiring some time to consider of it: but Cromwell told him, he must resolve presently, for there was no time to deliberate, because the council, from whom he came, were resolved to send his lordship to the Tower as soon as ever Cromwell should return to them, in case this offer was not readily accepted. Lord Broghill seeing no subterfuges could any longer be made useof, and finding his liberty and life were in danger, whereby he might be rendered utterly incapable of serving his majesty; and not knowing but, by accepting this offer, he might afterwards be serviceable to the royal party, he resolved to accept of it upon the conditions which Cromwell mentioned; promising upon his word and honour, he would faithfully assist Cromwell in subduing the Irish rebellion. Whereupon Cromwell assured him, he should have those condi-

tions performed to a tittle; and desired him to hasten down to Bristol, where men should be sent to him, and ships wait for his transportation, and he himself would follow him with another army; all which was accordingly done[a]."——Broghill was worthy of Cromwell's choice: he served him faithfully, was sincerely attached to the interests of his family, and did every thing to support it.——The next instance I shall give from Wood, who chose not, we may well suppose, to falsify in favour of the protector.——"In 1649," says he, "one Mr. Greaves of Gray's-Inn, an intimate acquaintance with Dr. Meric Casaubon, brought him a message from Oliver Cromwell, then lieutenant-general of the parliament's forces, to bring him to Whitehall to confer with him about matters of moment, but his wife being then lately dead, and not, as he said, buried, he desired to be excused. Afterwards Greaves came again, and our author [Casaubon] being in some disorder for it, fearing that evil might follow, he desired him to tell him the meaning of the matter, but Greaves refusing, went away the second time. At length he returned again, and told him, that the lieutenant-general intended his good and advancement, and that his particular errand was, that he would make use of his pen to write the history of the late war, desiring, withall, that nothing but matters of fact be impartially set down, &c. To which he returned answer, that he desired his humble service and hearty thanks be returned for that great honour done unto him, and withall, that he was uncapable, in severall respects, for such an employment, and could not so impartially engage in it, but that his subject would force him to make such reflections as would be ungrateful, if not injurious to his lordship. Notwithstanding this answer, Cromwell seemed so sensible of his worth, that tho' he could not win him over to his desires, yet he acknowledged a great respect for him, and, as a testimony thereof, he ordered that, upon the first demand, there should be delivered three or four hundred pounds by a

[a] Morrice's Life of Lord Orrery, prefixed to his State Papers, fol. Lond. 1742. And Budgell's Memoirs of the Boyles, p. 43. 8vo. Lond. 1732.

certain bookseller in London (whose name was Cromwell) whensoever his occasions should require, without acknowledging any benefactor at the receipt of it. But this offer, as I have been informed by our author's son John Casaubon, he scorned to accept, though his condition was then mean. At the same time it was proposed by the said Greaves (who belonged to the library at St. James's) that if our author would gratify him in the foregoing request, Cromwell would restore unto him all his father's [Isaac Casaubon's] books, which were then in the royal library there (given by king James, who had invited him into England) and, withall, a patent for three hundred *per annum*, to be paid to the family so long as the youngest son of Dr. Isaac Casaubon should live. But this also was refused[a]."——It appears from a letter of Dr. Cudworth's, that he was consulted by Mr. Thurloe (no doubt but by the protector's orders) with regard to the characters of such persons in the university, as were proper to be employed in political and civil affairs. The doctor mentions several men of distinguished learning and abilities, and then adds, "many more names I could set down: but these may suffice for your choice; and you may, if you think good, enquire further concerning any of them from some others, and, if you please, from this gentleman, whom I have, for that purpose, desired to present this to you, Mr. George Rust, fellow of Christ-College, who can further inform and satisfy you concerning them. He is an understanding, pious, discreet man, and himself I know to be a man of exceeding good parts, and a general scholar, but one that seems not so willing to divert himself from preaching and divinity, which he hath of late intended; otherwise I know his parts are such, as would enable him for any employment. If you please to enquire further from him, and by him signify your further pleasure to me, I shall be ready in this, or any thing else, that I am able to expresse myself,

Sir, your affectionately devoted friend and servant,

R. CUDWORTH.

[a] Wood's Athenæ, vol. II. c. 485.

excelled in science[62]. Nor did he fail of

Mr. Zachary Cradock was recommended to the secretary by this gentleman, for the place of chaplain to the English merchants at Lisbon. He was afterwards provost of Eaton, and greatly celebrated for his genius and learning[a]. Dr. John Pell, eminent for his skill in the mathematics, in the Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, Italian, French, Spanish, and High and Low Dutch languages, was appointed envoy from the protector to the protestant cantons in Swisserland[b]. Mr. (afterwards Sir) William Petty was ordered by Oliver, to take a survey, and make maps of the kingdom of Ireland, for which he had a salary of 365*l. per annum*, besides many other advantages which enabled him to raise a great estate[c]. And it is said, however improbably, "That Cromwell was so pleased with many of Mr. Hobbes's principles laid down in the Leviathan, which tended to justify and support his usurpation, that the great place of being secretary was proffered to him[d]."

If to these instances, we add Milton, Mr. Marvel, and Mr. Morland before mentioned, together with Nat. Bacon, author of the celebrated discourses on government, who was one of Cromwell's masters of requests, Francis Osborn, a writer of good repute, who had public employments under him, and Mr. Samuel Hartlib, to whom he allowed one hundred pounds a year for his industry and expences in several public services; we shall be convinced that he was not destitute of men of abilities, or negligent of employing them in a manner honourable to themselves, as well as advantageous to the nation.

[62] He favoured learning, and was munificent to such as excelled in science.] We have seen in the two preceding notes, the care of the protector to select men capable of transacting public business in an honourable and useful

[a] Cudworth's Life by Dr. Birch, prefixed to the first vol. of the Intellectual System, p. 8. 4to. Lond. 1743. [b] Birch's Life of Boyle, p. 117. 8vo. Lond. 1744. [c] Wood's Athenæ, vol. II. c. 808. [d] Id. c. 646.

making use of the methods of kindness and

manner to the community of which he had taken on himself to be the head. Most of these were well versed in the sciences, and consequently would well enough have served for proofs of Cromwell's favour to the learned. I shall add however others, that his regard to learning may be put out of a possibility of doubt.——Oliver was chancellor of the university of Oxford, and within a year after his assuming the protectorate, "at his own charge, he bestowed on the public library there, twenty five antient manuscripts; ten of which were in folio, and fourteen in quarto, all in Greek, except two or three. He moreover ordered to a private divinity reader there (newly chosen to that place) an annuity of one hundred pounds *per annum*, out of the exchequer, for the said reader's encouragement[a]."——When the great design was on foot of publishing the Polyglott, by Dr. Walton, the protector permitted the paper to be imported duty free[b]. And it is a fact, attested by his very enemies, that he hindered the sale of archbishop Usher's valuable library of prints and manuscripts, to foreigners, and caused it to be purchased, and sent over to Dublin, with an intention to bestow it on a new college or hall, which he had proposed to build and endow there[c]. Dr. Parr and Dr. Smith say, the purchase was made by the officers and soldiers of the army in Ireland, but how this is consistent with Parr's saying afterwards, that "when this library was brought over into Ireland, the usurper and his son, who then commanded in chief there, would not bestow it on the college of Dublin," is very hard to say. I presume they would not have claimed the right of bestowing, if they had not acquired that right by purchasing. Dr. Smith, sen-

[a] Mercurius Politicus, No. 223. p. 3773. And Whitlock, p. 605. [b] Towards the close of Walton's preface we find the following words: Primo autem commemorandi quorum favore Chartam a Vectigalibus immunem habuimus, quod quinque ab hinc annis, a Concilio secretiori primo concessum, postea a Serenissimo D. Protectore ejusque Concilio, operis promovendi causa benigne confirmatum et continuatum erat. [c] See Parr's Life of Usher, p. 102.

condescension, in several respects, to conci-

sible of this, has varied from his original, (for he is little more than a translator of Parr) and attributes both purchase, refusal of bestowing on the college of Dublin, and intention of erecting a new building for its reception, to the officers and soldiers only[a].——Smith however allows with Parr, that Cromwell had the merit of hindering the exportation of this valuable library into foreign parts; and with astonishment cries out, "Quis autem crederet hominem, enthusiasmi furoribus subindè correptum, & humanioris literaturæ osorem, cavisse, ne thesaurus iste extra Angliam, non sine summâ injuriâ genti inurendâ, exportaretur?" His astonishment would have ceased, had he known the true character of the protector.——But to go on.——A representation having been made to the parliament of the commonwealth of England, by the gentlemen of the county of Durham, and sent up by the high sheriff to the parliament, *inter alia*, that the college and houses of the dean and chapter, being then empty and in decay, might be employed for erecting a college, school, or academy for the benefit of the northern counties, which are so far from the universities; and that part of the lands of the dean and chapter near the city, might be set out for pious uses: it was referred to a committee to state the business and report their opinion. This was in May, 1650. From this time till about seven years after, we hear no more of it. But on the 15th of May, 1657, the lord protector, by writ of privy seal, erected a college at Durham, consisting of one provost or master, two preachers or senior fellows, and twelve other fellows. "And for the endowment of the said college, the cathedral church and church-yard of Durham, and the several messuages with their appurtenances thereunto belonging were granted. To these were added a yearly rent-charge of one hundred and seventeen pounds, fifteen

[a] Vita Jacobi Usserii, Scriptore Thoma Smitho, S. Theologiæ Doctore & Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Presbytero, prefixed to Usher's Annals, Genevæ, 1722. Folio, p. 55.

liate the [63] affections of his enemies to his per-

shillings and eight-pence, and another of five hundred pounds issuing out of the manors of Gateshead and Wickham in the said county of Durham, as also one other of two hundred eighty-four pounds, four shillings and four-pence, issuing out of lands lately belonging to the bishop or dean and chapter of that diocese. Besides all these donations, the books printed and manuscript belonging to the late bishop, dean and chapter were added, and a liberty of purchasing or receiving lands, not exceeding the yearly value of six thousand pounds[a]." We may see by this, that Oliver was a friend to learning, and zealous to promote it: but whether the means in this instance made use of, were the most eligible, must be left to the reader to determine.—I had forgot to add, that this foundation of a college at Durham was opposed by the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, and that it was but of a short duration. For on Richard's resignation, it of course dropped.——I will mention but one instance more of the protector's regard and encouragement of literary merit.——Dr. Seth Ward, who was afterward bishop of Exeter and Sarum successively, standing candidate, in the year 1657, for the principalship of Jesus college in Oxford, lost it through means of Cromwell's pre-engagement to another. But upon being informed of the merit and learning of Ward, (who had succeeded the very learned Mr. John Greaves as astronomy professor in that university) he received and conversed with him with great freedom, and enquiring of the value of the principalship, promised to allow him the like sum annually[b]. This Dr. Ward became after the Restoration a thorough-paced court-bishop, applying himself to politics, and adhering to the interest of those to whom he owed his preferments. I think he never shewed any return of kindness to the friends of Cromwell.

[63] He made use of the methods of kindness and condes-

[a] Peck's Memoirs of Oliver Cromwell, among the Collection of curious historical Pieces, p. 60. 4to. Lond. 1740. [b] Howe's Life by Calamy, p. 19.

son and government. These were some of

cension to his enemies.] Here are my authorities. "The nobles and great men," says Bates, "(for with some few of them he had an intimacy) he delighted with raillery and jesting, contended with them in mimical gestures, and entertained them with merry collations, musick, hunting and hawking.——When he was in the country, he used once or oftener a year, to give the neighbours a buck, to be run down in his park, and money to buy wine to make merry with[a]."——The following account, we are told, was delivered by Dr. Thomas Smith, and was first published by Mr. Thomas Heârne, in his Appendix to the Chronicon de Dunstable. "I will relate a passage, that the marquis told me concerning the old marquis of Hartford. A little after the death of the lord Beauchamp his son, in the year 1656, (which was of unspeakable grief to him) the Protector sent Sir Edward Sidenham to him, to condole with him for the great loss he had sustained, and many fine words and compliments besides. The marquis of Hartford would have been glad Cromwell had spared that ceremony; but however received it in the best manner he could; and returned a suitable acknowledgment for the same. Some time after this Cromwell sent again to invite the marquis to dine with him: which this great and brave nobleman knew not how to wave or excuse; considering it was in Cromwell's power to ruin him, and all his family. Therefore sent him word he would wait upon his highness. In a little time after he went accordingly, and Cromwell received him with open arms; and at dinner drank to him, and carved for him, with the greatest kindness imaginable. After dinner, he took him by the hand, and led him into his drawing-room, where (only they two being alone) he told the marquis, he had desired his company, that he might have his advice what to do. For," said he, "I am not able to bear the weight of business that is upon me; I

[a] Part II. p. 195.

the illustrious actions of Cromwell: actions

am weary of it; and you, my lord, are a great and wise man, and of great experience, and have been much verst in the business of government; pray advise me what I shall do. The marquis was much surprized at this discourse of the protector's, and desired again and again to be excused: telling him, he had served king Charles all along, and been of his private council; and that it no ways consisted with his principles, that either the protector should ask, or he (the marquis) adventure to give him any advice. This notwithstanding would not satisfy Cromwell, but he prest him still, and told him he would receive no excuses nor denials; but bid the marquis speak freely, and whatever he said, it should not turn in the least to his prejudice. The marquis seeing himself thus prest, and that he could not avoid giving an answer, said, Sir, upon this assurance that you have given me, I will declare to your highness my thoughts, by which you may continue to be great, and establish your name and family for ever. Our young master that is abroad (that is, my master, and the master of us all) restore him to his crowns, and by doing this you may have what you please. The protector, no way disturbed at this, answered very sedately, that he had gone so far, that the young gentleman could not forgive. The marquis replied, that if his highness pleased, he would undertake with his master, for what he had said. He replied again, that in his circumstances, he could not trust. Thus they parted, and the marquis had never any prejudice hereby so long as Cromwell lived[a]." Lord Clarendon speaks also of Cromwell's "making addresses to some principal noblemen of the kingdom, and some friendly expostulations with them, why they reserved themselves, and would have no communication or acquaintance with him [b]?"—From these facts, we may judge of Cromwell's address, and his knowledge of the human

[a] Peck's Preface to his Memoirs of Oliver Cromwell, p. 37. [b] See vol. VI. p. 593.

still more remarkable, as his reign was short,

heart, which by flattery is soonest of all things captivated and ensnared. His method of treating his enemies was many times also very mild and generous. "He understood," says Burnet, "that one Sir Richard Willis was chancellor Hyde's chief confident, to whom he wrote often, and to whom all the party submitted, looking on him as an able and wise man, in whom they confided absolutely. So he found a way to talk with him: he said, he did not intend to hurt any of the party; his design was rather to save them from ruin: they were apt after their cups to run into foolish and ill-concerted plots, which signified nothing but to ruin those who engaged in them: he knew they consulted him in every thing: all he desired of him was to know all their plots, that he might so disconcert them that none might ever suffer for them: if he clapt any of them up in prison, it should only be for a little time; and they should be interrogated only about some trifling discourse, but never about the business they had been engaged in. He offered Willis whatever he would accept of, and to give it when or as he pleased. He durst not ask or take above 2000 pounds a year. None was trusted with this but his secretary Thurloe, who was a very dexterous man at getting intelligence. Thus Cromwell had all the king's party in a net. He let them dance in it at pleasure: and upon occasions clapt them up for a short while; but nothing was ever discovered that hurt any of them[a]." ——What is about to be related, will still more display the truth of the text. "One day, in a gay manner, Oliver told lord Broghill that an old friend of his was just come to town. The lord Broghill desiring to know, whom his highness meant? Cromwell to his great surprize, answered, the marquis of Ormond. The lord Broghill protesting he was wholly ignorant of it: I know that well enough (says the protector;) however, if you have a mind to preserve your old acquaintance, let him know, that I am not ignorant either where he is, or what he is doing. He then told him the place where the marquis lodged;

[a] Vol. I. p. 101.

and his revenue scanty[64].—But his govern-

and lord Broghill having received this generous permission to save his friend, went directly to him, and acquainted him with what had passed; who finding himself discovered, instantly left London, and with the first opportunity returned to the king. Soon after Cromwell being informed that the lady Ormond was engaged in several practices against the government, and corresponded with her husband, for the better accomplishing of them, had resolved to use her with great severity; and told the lord Broghill with a frown, the first time he saw him, You have passed your word for the quiet behaviour of a fine person: the lady Ormond is in a conspiracy with her husband against me, though at your request, I permit her to stay in London, and allow her 2000 *l. per annum*. I find she is an ungrateful woman, and shall use her accordingly. Lord Broghill, who saw the protector was thoroughly provoked, but knew that a soft answer usually appeased him, told him in the most submissive manner, that he was sorry the lady Ormond had given his highness any occasion to be displeased with her, but humbly desired to know, what ground he had for suspecting her? Enough: (says Cromwell) I have letters under her own hand, which were taken out of her cabinet: and then throwing him a letter, bid him read it. He had no sooner perused it, than he assured the protector with a smile, that what he had read, was not the hand of lady Ormond, but of lady Isabella Thyn, between whom and the marquis of Ormond, there had been some intrigues. Cromwell hastily asked him, how he could prove that? Lord Broghill answered very easily; and shewed him some other letters from the lady Isabella; of whom he told two or three stories, so pleasant, as made Cromwell lose all his resentment in a hearty laugh[a]."

[64] His revenue scanty.] Whoever considers what Cromwell did at home and abroad; the greatness of his fleets and armies; his spies and intelligencers; his ambassadors and

[a] Budgell's Memoirs of the Boyles, p. 59, Biographia Britannica, p. 8. 899. 1062.

ment, however, was far from being free from blame. His edict against the episcopal clergy[65]

envoys, and the state he on some occasions assumed; I say, whoever considers his government which made so great a figure in the eyes of Europe, and is still talked of with admiration, will be astonished to find that the whole revenue of England, Scotland and Ireland, amounted to but 1,900,000*l.*[a] His enemies moreover add, that when he assumed the government, "The publick stock was five hundred thousand pounds in ready money, the value of seven hundred thousand pounds in stores, and the whole army in advance, some four, and none under two months; so that though there might be a debt of near five hundred thousand pounds upon the kingdom, he met with above twice the value in lieu of it[b]." Mr. Cowley says, "He found the commonwealth in a ready stock of about 800,000 pounds, and left it some two millions and an half in debt[c]." ——Allowing all this to be true, Cromwell must have been an excellent œconomist. For what prince almost, could have done so much on so little? We may be sure there could have been no great waste of the public treasure on favourites, no needless parade, or expensive follies, when the sum to be managed for every purpose was so contracted. But the force of œconomy is great; its efficacy powerful; and he who spends or gives when it is proper, and only when it is so, may do things beyond the imagination of most[d].

[65] His edict against the episcopal clergy was very cruel.] Cromwell by nature, as I have more than once had an opportunity of shewing, was generous and humane, kind and compassionate; but when he was provoked he shewed

[a] Protector's Speech, April 21, 1657. [b] World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell, p. 3. [c] Discourse concerning the Government of Oliver Cromwell, p. 92. [d] Turning to Thurloe, I find the following estimate of the charge of a year, ending the first of November 1657. This estimate is something beyond what I have given from the protector's speech; but as it has the air of exactness it possibly may deserve the attention of the public.

The

was very cruel, as it deprived them in a good measure of their maintenance, and of their

his resentment, and made his enemies feel the weight of it. With respect to religion he was no bigot[a]; and yet, exasperated by the conduct of the cavaliers, who had so foolishly risen against him under Wagstaff, Penruddock and Grove in the west, he treated the clergy of that party very rigorously. In a declaration bearing date, October 4, 1655, we find the following prohibitions. "His highness, by the advice of his council, doth publish, declare and order, that no person or persons aforesaid (whose estates had been sequestered for delinquency, or who had been in arms against the parliament) do, from and after the first day of January 1655, keep in their houses and families, as chaplains or school-masters, for the education of their children, any sequestered or ejected minister, fellow of any college, or school-master, nor permit any of their children to be taught by such, upon pain of being proceeded against in such sort, as the said orders do direct in such cases. And that no person who hath been sequestered or ejected out of any benefice, college or school for delin-

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
The charge at sea - - - -	994,500	0	4
The charge of the army in the three kingdoms -	1,132,489	0	0
The government - - - -	200,000	0	0
Sum is -	2,326,989	0	4

The present Revenue.

	l.	*s.*	*d.*
The assessment in England, Scotland and Ireland -	1,464,000	4	0
The excise and customs, estimated at - -	700,000	0	0
The other revenue payable into the receipt, estimated at	198,000	0	0
Sum is -	2,362,000	4	0

N. B. Cromwell had only 400,000*l.* from his parliament towards the war with Spain. See Thurloe, vol. IV. p. 596.

[a] See note 10.

liberty of worshipping God according as ap-

quency or scandal, shall, from and after the first day of January, keep any school, either public or private, nor any person who after that time shall be ejected for the causes aforesaid.

"And that no person, who, for delinquency or scandal, hath been sequestered or ejected, shall from and after the first day of January aforesaid, preach in any public place, or at any private meeting of any other persons than those of his own family, nor shall administer baptism or the Lord's supper, or marry any persons, or use the book of common-prayer, or the forms of prayer therein contained, upon pain that every person so offending in any of the premises, shall be proceeded against, as by the said orders is provided and directed. And to the end all persons concerned may take notice hereof, and avoid the danger of any of the said penalties, his highness doth charge and command all sheriffs within their respective counties, cities and towns, to cause this declaration to be proclaimed and published. Nevertheless his highness doth declare, that, towards such of the said persons, as have, since their ejection or sequestration, given, or shall hereafter give, a real testimony of their godliness and good affection to the present government, so much tenderness shall be used, as may consist with the safety and good of the nation[a]."——It would be useless to spend words in exposing the cruelty of this declaration. Persecution is written on the face of it, nor is it capable of a vindication. We are told that some of the most considerable episcopal clergy, on the issuing forth of this decree, applied to archbishop Usher, to use his interest with the protector, "That as he granted liberty of conscience to almost all sorts of religions, so the episcopal divines might have the same freedom of serving God in their private congregations, (since they were not permitted the public churches) according to the liturgy of the

[a] Harleian Miscellany, vol. V. p. 249. Mercurius Politicus, No. 255. p. 5774.

peared best to their own understandings. The

church of England; and that neither the ministers, nor those that frequented that service, might be any more hindered or disturbed by his soldiers. So according to their desires," continues Dr. Parr, "he went and used his utmost endeavours with Cromwell, for the taking off this restraint, which was at last promised, (though with some difficulty) that they should not be molested, provided they meddled not with any matters relating to his government: but when the lord primate went to him a second time, to get this promise ratified; and put into writing,———Cromwell answered him to this effect, that he had since better considered it, having advised with his council about it, and that they thought it not safe for him to grant liberty of conscience to those sort of men, who are restless and implacable enemies to him and his government; and so took his leave of him, though with good words, and outward civility: the lord primate seeing it was in vain to urge it any farther, said little more to him, but returned to his lodgings very much troubled, and concerned that his endeavours had met with no better success; when he was in his chamber, he said to some of his relations and myself, that came to see him, This false man hath broken his word with me, and refuses to perform what he promised; well, he will have little cause to glory in his wickedness, for he will not continue long; the king will return; though I shall not live to see it, you may: the government both in church and state is in confusion, the papists are advancing their projects, and making such advantages as will hardly be prevented[a]." This truly venerable primate had reason to be out of humour. For whatever might have been the practices of many of the episcopal clergy, it is certain there were amongst them wise, pious, learned, and peaceable men, who merited a very different treatment from this which was given them by Oliver. Not to take notice that it

[a] Life of Usher, p. 75.

cavaliers had hard measure from him[66], as they

is a very barbarous thing to prohibit men the use of those forms of address to the Deity, which they imagine are most honourable and acceptable to him.——However, in justice to the protector, it must be said, that notwithstanding this declaration, he winked at, or permitted some worthy episcopalians to officiate in the public places of worship, nor do we find that they suffered any inconveniences on account of it. The books referred to in the margin will be deemed full authority by those acquainted with the character of their authors[a]. So that some tenderness was used towards such as were not of obnoxious characters, though it cannot be doubted but many innocent and worthy men must have received very hard measure.

[66] The cavaliers had hard measure from him, being subjected to heavy taxes, &c.] Cromwell, though an enemy, had shewn favour to the cavaliers in a variety of instances, and zealously promoted the act of oblivion whereby they obtained many solid advantages. But they could not be quiet. They were continually plotting how to bring in the young king, and restore him to what they called his right. For in the eyes of these men nations and kingdoms were patrimonial estates, and as such were to pass from father to son, without asking the consent of those who constituted them.——What made them more forward was the discontent which had arisen among their adversaries, on Cromwell's seizing the government, and exercising the supreme rule. For many zealous republicans now turned against him, and even joined with their sworn foes, to complete his destruction. So blind is revenge! Among these were Overton and Wildman, men of parts and interest in the army[b]. But nothing was concealed from the eye of Cromwell. He seized many of the conspirators, and disappointed their intended insurrections. Grove and Penrudduck appeared

[a] See Walker's Sufferings of the Clergy, part ii. p. 23, 24, 26, 69. fol. Lond. 1714. Nelson's Life of Bishop Bull, p. 29, 47. 8vo. Lond. 1713. [b] See note 72.

were without exception, almost, rendered subject

however in the west, and with a small body of men, carried off the judges on the circuit at Salisbury; but being pursued, were taken, and executed at Exeter. Had Cromwell stopt here, had he only punished such as had appeared in arms, or truly engaged in the plot against him, there had been no blame. Men who will venture on such exploits, must take the consequences; nor is a government to be blamed for making them examples. But provoked, Cromwell went much farther. He punished the whole body of cavaliers, and made little distinction between them. An order was made that "all those who had ever borne arms for the king, or declared themselves to be of the royal party, should be decimated, that is, pay a tenth part of all that estate which they had left, to support the charge which the commonwealth was put to, by the unquietness of their tempers and the just cause of jealousy which they had administered."——By another declaration, "they were rendered incapable to be elected, or give their vote in the election of any person or persons to any office or place of trust or government, within the commonwealth: or to hold or execute by themselves or deputies, any such office or place till his highness's command was farther known[a]." And a great number of persons of quality were clapped up in prison, against whom little more was to be alledged than that they had been of the royal party. This treatment could not but be deemed by many, hard, and unjust. But Cromwell and his council undertook to vindicate it, in a declaration, published October 31, 1655, wherein, after taking notice of the events of the late war; the punctual performance of the articles granted to the cavaliers; and the act of grace and oblivion granted to them, in order to heal and cement, and take away all seeds of difference and separation: I say, after taking notice of these things, the declaration goes on to observe, "That there can be no other construction made of

[a] See Clarendon, vol. VI. p. 570. Mercurius Politicus, No. 276. p. 5650

to heavy taxes and other inconveniences, upon

the actings of that party, to the disturbance of the publick peace, and to the subversion of the government, but that they are implacable in their malice and revenge, and never to be drawn from their adhering to that cursed interest, which hath been the shedding of so much innocent blood, and almost the ruin and destruction of these lands."—— As to the act of oblivion, against which these proceedings were deemed contrary, it was answered,—— "That the parliament, by that act, intended not only an oblivion of the offences of the party, [the cavaliers] but that this kindness should be answered with obedience on their part, and produce a real change in their principles and interest, as to the common cause this great contest had been about, for otherwise this act cannot be considered as obligatory to those who gave it: and in this case forbearance from outward action will not avail, to intitle to the benefit of the pardon, if yet there be malice and revenge in the heart, and such a leaning and adhering to the old interest, that nothing is wanting in the discovery thereof, but a fitting opportunity; for as such men cannot, in justice and ingenuity, claim the benefit of an act of favour from the supream magistrate, to whom they themselves be enemies, so neither is that magistrate bound in justice before God or men to give it to them, if he hath reason to believe from the course of their conversations that they are such, and that their intentions towards the government, under which they live, are the same as when they were in open arms against it, and is at liberty to carry himself towards them, as if no such act had been. Nay, he may proceed against them with greater severity, inasmuch as he hath used the last means to reclaim them without fruit, and knows by experience, that nothing but the sword will restrain them from blood and violence. Then if this be the case between us and the late king's party, to wit, that they have notoriously manifested it to the consciences of all men, that they do not only retain their old principles and still adhere to their former interest, in direct

account of the rashness and imprudence of

opposition to the government established, but have been all along hatching new disturbances, and endeavouring as well by secret and bloody assassinations, as by open force to introduce the one, and overthrow and subvert the other; it will not be thought strange upon any account whatsoever, that we did lately secure so many of the men of that interest, although they were not visibly in arms upon the late insurrection; nor that we have laid a burden upon some of their estates, beyond what is imposed upon the rest of the nation, towards the defraying of that charge which they are the occasion of, with some other things which we have found necessary in this time of danger to direct concerning them, for the peace and safety of the whole[a]." After this follows a clear and distinct narrative of the plot, supported by such evidence as appeared to the government convincing.——— But what was all this to the innocent?——Yes, proceeds the declaration, "Admit that some of that party were as innocent, as they would now have it believed they were, enough hath been done by their fellows in a common cause (which hardly any of them know how to disown, which they love, and of which they glory) to draw the whole party under a just suspicion, and the consequences thereof; all that are peaceably minded in the nation are ready to say, these are the men of whom we go in danger, and certainly it is both just and necessary, that all those of whom the people have reason to be afraid (not only as their profest enemies, but also numerous) should pay for securing the state against that danger which they are the authors of[b]."———"That character of difference between them and the rest of the people, which is now put upon them, is occasioned by themselves, not by us; there is nothing they have more industriously laboured in than this, to keep themselves separated, and distinguished from the well-affected of this nation: to which

[a] Declaration, p. 12. 4to. Printed at London, by Henry Hills and John Field, Printers to his Highness the Lord Protector, 1655. [b] Id. p. 36.

some of their party. Nor must it be forgotten

end they have kept their conversation apart, as if they would avoid the very beginnings of union, have bred and educated their children by the sequestred and ejected clergy, and very much confined their marriages and alliances within their own party, as if they meant to entail their quarrel, and prevent the means to reconcile posterity; which, with the great pains they take upon all occasions to lessen, and suppress the esteem and honour of the English nation, in all their actions and undertakings abroad, striving withal to make other nations distinguish their interest from it, gives us ground to judge that they have separated themselves from the body of the nation; and therefore we leave it to all mankind to judge, whether we ought not to be timely jealous of that separation, and to proceed so against them, as they may be at the charge of those remedies which are required against the dangers they have bred[a]." Such are the principles on which this rigour was justified! Principles unjust and tyrannous, and fit to support the most arbitrary and destructive measures! And accordingly they have been made use of by L'Estrange professedly, to instigate the magistrate to crush the party that opposed him. ——"That which is sawce to a goose," says he, "is sawce to a gander. They that thought this proceeding lawful and reasonable, from Cromwell to the cavaliers, will certainly never think it hard in return, from a rightful prince to a band of traytors[b]." It were to have been wished, some have thought, that no such principles had been acted on in a much more modern period, by men who professed and gloried, in words at least, in asserting the cause of liberty[c]. It is said this declaration was drawn up by the lord commissioner Fiennes, once governor of Bristol, for the surrender of which he was sentenced to death by a court-martial, but pardoned by the kindness of the earl of Essex, then

[a] Declaration, &c. p. 38. [b] Observator, No. 367. [c] See the Debates on laying an extraordinary Tax on the Estates of the Papists, in Torbuck's Parliamentary Debates, vol. VIII. p. 285. 8vo. Lond. 1741.

here to mention his institution of major-gene-

lord general for the parliament. Lord Clarendon tells us, "That when this declaration was sent to Cologne, the king caused an answer to be made to it upon the grounds that were laid down in it; and as if it was made by one who had been always of the parliament side, and who was well pleased to see the cavaliers reduced to that extremity; but with such reflections upon the tyranny that was exercised over the kingdom, and upon the foulness of the breach of trust the protector was guilty of, that it obliged all the nation to look upon him as a detestable enemy, who was to be removed by any way that offered itself[a]." The writer of this, it seems, was his lordship himself, who has also assumed the merit, such as it is, of most of the answers to the parliament's declarations before the war, which have been generally given to Charles himself[b]. The "letter from a true and lawful member of parliament, and one faithfully engaged with it from the beginning of the war to the end," I believe is the answer intended; it exactly suiting the description given by his lordship, and should therefore be added to the list of his writings. Sir Peter Pett, I know, in his "Future happy state of England," says it was attributed to lord Holles; though I cannot find it mentioned by any writer among his works. I will conclude this note with a specimen of the answer to this declaration contained in the above letter, that it may appear how deeply Cromwell's proceeding was resented by the royal party. "You have," says the writer, "cancelled all obligations of trust, and taken away all possible confidence from all men that they can ever enjoy any thing that they can call their own during this government; and having so little pleasure left them in life, they will prefer the losing it in some noble attempt to free their country and themselves from the bondage and servitude they live under, to the dying ignobly in some loathsome

[a] Clarendon, vol. VI. p. 572. [b] Clarendon's Life, vol. I. p. 263, & passim.

rals[67], who in a variety of instances lorded it

prison, when you please to be afraid of them.———When the despair you have put them into shall make them consider, that as the misery, calamity, servitude and infamy under which the three kingdoms suffer, proceed entirely from you, so, that they will be determined by you. That the general hatred and detestation of you is such, that it is very probable that those noble patriots, whose spirits shall be raised to destroy you, shall not only reap unutterable honour from it, but find safety in it, either from the confusion that must instantly attend, or from the abhorring your memories to those that shall survive you. If they shall perish in or upon their attempt, what a glorious fame will they leave behind them? What a sweet odour will their memories have with the present and succeeding ages? Statues will be erected to them, and their names recorded in those roles, which have preserved the Bruti, the Horatii, the Fabii, and all those who have died out of debt to their country, by having paid the utmost that they owed it; their merits will be remembered, as those of the primitive martyrs, and their children and kindred will be always looked upon as the descendants from the liberators of their country, and esteemed accordingly; their fate will be like his in the son of Sirach, If he die, he shall leave a greater name than a thousand: and if he live, he shall increase it[a]."

[67] Major-generals who lorded it over, and oppressed the country.] At the same time that Cromwell had determined to decimate the cavaliers, he projected a division of the kingdom into several districts, over which he placed officers of trust and confidence, who were to inspect into the conduct of the inhabitants, and treat them according to orders received from the protector. The number of these men were eleven, distinguished by the title of major-generals, who presided over the counties of England, in the manner following.

[a] Letter from a true and lawful Member of Parliament, p. 62, 63.

over and oppressed the country.——But there

Kent and Surry, colonel KELSEY.

Sussex, Hampshire, Berkshire, colonel GOFFE.

Gloucester, Wilts, Dorset, Somerset, Devon, Cornwall, general DISBOROWE.

Oxon, Bucks, Hertford, Cambridge, isle of Ely, Essex, Norfolk, Suffolk, lord deputy FLEETWOOD.

London, major-general SKIPPON.

Lincoln, Nottingham, Derby, Warwick, Leicester, commissary-general WHALLEY.

Northampton, Bedford, Rutland, Huntington, major BUTLER.

Worcester, Hereford, Salop, North Wales, colonel BERRY.

Cheshire, Lancashire, Staffordshire, colonel WORSLEY.

Yorkshire, Durham, Cumberland, Westmorland, Northumberland, lord LAMBERT.

Westminster, Middlesex, the lieutenant of the Tower, colonel BARKSTEAD[a].

The commission given to Disborowe is preserved in Thurloe's collections. As it may be acceptable to some readers, I will here insert it.——" Oliver lord protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the dominions thereunto belonging, to our right trusty and well beloved major-general John Disbrowe, greeting. We reposing special trust and confidence in your fidelity, discretion, courage, experience, and conduct in military affairs, do hereby constitute and appoint you the said major-general Disbrowe to be major-general of all the militia forces raised and to be raised within the counties of Cornwall, Devon, Somersett, Dorsett, Wilts and Gloucester; which said forces you are by virtue of this commission to receive into your charge as major-general, and the same to train and exercise in arms, and to command, lead, and conduct for the service of us and the commonwealth, keeping them

[a] Mercurius Politicus, No. 231 p. 5711. Thurloe, vol. IV. p. 117.

was yet farther reason to complain.——He

in good order and discipline. And all officers and soldiers of the said forces are hereby required to obey you as their major-general for the said service. And you are to observe and follow such directions as you shall from time to time receive from ourself. Given at Whitehall the 28th day of May, 1655. Signed Oliver P.[a]"

Part of the instructions to the major-generals were, "To endeavour to suppress all tumults, insurrections, rebellion or other unlawful assemblies which shall be in the said counties; to disarm all papists, and such as have been in arms against the parliament, and all others who are dangerous to the peace of the nation; to apprehend thieves and robbers, and prosecute them according to law; to have a strict eye upon the conversation and carriage of all disaffected persons within the several counties; to permit no horse-races, cock-fightings, bear or stage plays; to compel the idle to labour, and provide employment and maintenance for the poor and impotent. To these were added orders to encourage godliness and virtue in their constant carriage and conversation, and to discourage their contraries; as well as to take an exact account of what proceedings had been upon the ordinance for ejecting of ignorant, insufficient and scandalous ministers and schoolmasters[b]. Moreover, all persons who had borne arms against the parliament, or that lived dissolutely, or without a calling, or at a high rate, having no visible estate answerable thereunto, were to give bond with two sureties in such sums as the major-generals should think fit (with respect to their qualities) for their own peaceable demeanor; for revealing any plots or conspiracies that came to their knowledge; and for their personally appearing at such time and place as the major-general or his deputy should appoint, and as often as they should direct; and also that they should not change their places of abode without giving notice, and

[a] Thurloe, vol. III. p. 486. [b] Mercurius Politicus, No. 289. p. 5851.

made use of packed juries on some occasions,

declaring to the major-general or his deputy the place to which they were about to remove[a]." It is very evident from these instructions that the major-generals had the country very much in their power: and it appears that they made use of it in the manner which the protector intended. The cavaliers were forced to dance attendance; to submit to decimations; to have their houses searched, and their persons imprisoned. But nothing can convey so good an idea of their actions as their own accounts, which are to be found in Thurloe's papers, one or two of which I will insert.—— Major-general Worsley in a letter to secretary Thurloe, dated Stafford, December 8, 1655, writes as follows:——"Yesterday we had a meeting at this town; and I have made a good progress in our business. We have assessed divers, and the rest must expect it with all speed, I doubt not but before the five and twentyth of this instant. I hope we shall pay our county troope out of what we have done already, and provide you a considerable sum for other uses. We have sent out warrants to give notice to the whole county, and our day of meeting, when we shall sit upon the ordinance for ejecting of scandalous ministers. We have disarmed the disaffected in this county. Wee shall now fall of snapping some of our old blades, that will not let us be quiet. There is so few in that ordinance for scandal, that they have much adoe both here and in other countries to get a coram. I commend that to you from the commissioners upon their desire; and alsoe in their name to believe, that what is in their power shall not be wanting to effect what they have received from his highness and council.———P.S. Wee understand that Mr. Halsoe is taken at London: if soe, he may, I believe, discover divers of our Lancashire and Cheshire gentlemen. Wee have found an estate of Penridock, that was executed, and have ordered it to be sequestered; for I have taken orders for the takeing of security for all

[a] Mercurius Politicus, No. 238. p. 5829.

disaffected persons in that country. I hope shortly to give you a good account of the rest of the countyes[a]."—Disbrowe, another of these gentlemen, writes as follows to the protector, in a letter, dated Sarum, Dec. 18, 1655.—"I have received your letter, in reference to the lord Seymour, and have perused his to your highness; wherein I find no more than any cavalier in the west of England sha'l pretend for himself. I must confess I should be glad of a real change; but I humbly conceive, without some publicque declaration to the world by him of the alteration of his spirit and principles, and of his real engagement to the present government, it will but open a door, and give occasion to the enemy to cry out of our partiality; especially if favour and respect shall be shewn to him, and denied to others, that will doe as much, if not more, than he hath done. If his spirit be such as he can cordially close with the people of God, (as capt. Burgess seems to hold forth) he will not be ashamed to disown that interest, wherein he formerly engaged; and for satisfaction of friends manifest his integrity to the publick. However, for the present, the commissioners understanding your highness's pleasure, seem willing to let him alone, untill they be ascertained, whether there be any difference betwixt him and his former practices. Yesterday we proceeded upon taxing 7 or 8 of this county, amongst whom was sir James Thynn, who was at the first a little averse, and did plead as much innocency as my lord Seymour hath done; but, at last, having no refuge, was constrained to comply; and I think of those 8, which we have already dealt withall, the sum will amount to 6 or 700*l.* per annum. There are four more to appear this morning; and then I intend for Blandford to attend the Dorsetshire gentlemen, and so to Marlborough, where there are 20 more to be summoned. In my last, I gave Mr. Secretary a list of some names for Cornwall, Devon, Somerset and Dorsett, to be sheriffs; and have presented your highness with 3 for Wilts, the two former being of the

[a] Thurloe, vol. IV. p. 300.

last parliament, and signing the recognition. For Gloucester I must crave leave till I come upon the place[a]."——— But fining the cavaliers was not the sole business of the major-generals: other employment they had, as we find in another letter from Disbrowe to the protector, dated Wells, Jan. 7, 1655.——"I had not tyme by my last to give your highness an account of all my proceeds, therefore shall take the boldness at present to acquaint your highnesse, that at Bristol intimation was given me by some honest people, that sundry of the aldermen and justices were enemies to the publique interest, retayninge their old malignant principles, discountenancinge the godly, and upholding the loose and prophane which indeed is a disease predominatinge in most corporations. Now I judged it my duty to declare against such, wheresoever I find them, but resolved to do it with as little noyse as I could; and in order thereunto I made my repair to Mr. Mayor, and acquainted him, that such of his bretherene I understood were soe and soe; and desired him from me to advise them tacitly to resigne, otherwise I should be necessitated to make them publique examples. Whereupon Mr. Mayor engaged to deale faithfully with them, and, as I understand, they have taken my advice, which will make way for honester men. There were also articles of delinquency proved against nine of the magistrates of Tewksbury, and particularly against Hill their towne clarke: I have also dismissed them, and four of the common councell of Gloucester, for adheringe to the Scotts king's interest[b]."——One instance more of the behaviour of these major-generals will give the reader a tolerable good view of them. It is contained in a letter from major-general Haynes to Thurloe, dated Bury, August 15, 1655.——"I am going into Norfolke to morrow, where we shall make the most use of it; [a letter from his highness] and I hope it will quicken them in their endeavours upon the election-day at hand, in which they have been much discouraged by the potencie of the adverse party. Yett all the strength can

[a] Thurloe, vol. IV. p. 324. [b] Id. p. 396 and 632.

and displaced judges for refusing to follow [68] his

be gott is endeavoured to crowde in my lord-deputy [Fleetwood] amongst them, that the honest people may have some one in parliament to address themselves to. I am doing my most to avoid the election of John Hubbert of Norwich, and Mr. Ph. Woodhouse against whom you have something already by you from major Harvy, which it's hoped, if they should carry it here, will not pass with you[a]."——— These proceedings of the major-generals, founded on no law, but the will of the protector, rendered them generally odious, and raised a mighty clamour against them in the kingdom. A parliament being called they were spoken against, even by court dependants, and soon afterwards abolished by Cromwell, as unacceptable and burthensome to the people. From henceforth we read of no more decimations.

[68] He packed juries on occasion, and displaced judges for refusing to follow his directions.] Here are my proofs. ——"When judge Hale was on a circuit, he understood that the protector had ordered a jury to be returned for a tryal in which he was more than ordinarily concerned: upon this information he examined the sheriff about it, who knew nothing of it; for he said he referred all such things to the under-sheriff, and having next asked the under-sheriff concerning it, he found the jury had been returned by order from Cromwell; upon which he shewed the statute that all juries ought to be returned by the sheriff or his lawful officer; and this not being done according to law, he dismissed the jury, and would not try the cause: upon which the protector was highly displeased with him, and at his return from the circuit, he told him in anger, he was not fit to be a judge, to which all the answer he made was, That it was very true[b]."

That this may be true is rendered very probable by letters to Thurloe, part of which I will here transcribe. The first

[a] Thurloe, vol. V. p. 311. [b] Hale's Life, p. 43.

directions.——He committed men illegally to

is from Mr. Dove, high-sheriff of Wilts, dated Sarum, March 29, 1655, relating to the intended trials for rebellion against the protector.——"I understand a commission of Oyer and Terminer is issued out for tryall of the rebels in the west; and ther is a mistrust of my under-sheriffe. Sir, I resolve, that noe one man shall be returned in the one or other juries, but such as may be confided in, and of the honest well affected party to his highness, and the present government. Yf there be but enough to be found of them through the whole county (which I hope there is) it is and will be my greatest care for that business to see it punctually done, and not trust my under-sheriffe therewith[a]." I suppose he was as good as his word, for both the juries I find highly commended by the solicitor, and other of his highness's agents, in their accounts of the trials of the unhappy sufferers.—Colonel Lilburne, in a letter to the secretary, dated York, April 10, 1655, has the following passage, on a like subject. "As for jurors, happily the law may give liberty to choose them without the liberties of this city, both fact and act riseing in the county, and then we shall doe pretty well: but, if otherwise, there shall be no diligence or care wanting to pick upp such as are right[b]."——Practices of this nature could not but be dangerous to the subject.——What is said in the text concerning Oliver's displacing of judges, is founded on the authority of Whitlock. "Baron Thorpe, and judge Newdigate," says he, "were put out of their places, for not observing the protector's pleasure in all his commands[c]." I know not whether I ought to insert under this head the displacing Whitlock and Widdrington, commissioners of the great seal, for refusing to proceed according to an ordinance made "for the better regulating and limiting the jurisdiction of the High Court of Chancery." Possibly the protector, however he might be mistaken, really thought his regu-

[a] Thurloe, vol. III. p. 318. [b] Id. p. 360. [c] Memorials, p. 625.

prison, and permitted them not to enjoy[69] the

lation for the public good, and therefore could not be blamed for dismissing such as were not to be prevailed on to concur with him therein.——These gentlemen, however, as they were deemed by the protector men of honour and abilities, were employed in other departments, and enjoyed his countenance and encouragement. His speech, on the taking away the seal from these commissioners, was remarkable. "The protector, in the council-chamber, very gravely told us," says Whitlock, "that he was sorry some of us could not satisfy our own consciences, to execute the ordinance concerning the Chancery, which they were informed had much good in it to the publick, but he confessed, that every one was to satisfy himself in matters to be performed by him, and that he had not the worse opinion of any man for refusing to do that whereof he was doubtful; but in this particular the affairs of the commonwealth did require a conformity of the officers thereof, and their obedience to authority, and (being some of us refused to execute this act, as was enjoyned) they were compelled thereby to put this charge of the custody of the great seal into the hands of some others, who might be satisfied that it was their duty to perform this command, and to put the ordinance in execution[a]." I have said the protector possibly was not to be blamed for his conduct in this affair: the reader, however, must judge of this.

[69] He committed men illegally to prison, and permitted them not the benefit of the laws.] The author of "the World's Mistake in Oliver Cromwell" will supply me with sufficient proofs of this. "To prove," says he, "that Oliver's time was full of oppression and injustice, I shall but instance, in a few of many particulars, and begin with John Lilburne, not that I think him in any kind one that deserved favour or respect, but that equal justice is due to the worst so well as to the best men, and that he comes first in order of time.

[a] Memorials, p. 626.

benefit of the laws. He caused men to be tried

" 1. John, in 1649, was, by order of the then parliament, tryed for his life, with an intent, I believe, of taking him away, but the jury not finding him guilty, he was immediately, according to law, generously set at liberty by those that had quarrel enough against him. This example in the parliament, of keeping to the laws in the case of one, who was a professed implacable enemy to them, ought to have been copied by Cromwell; but, in the contrary, to shew that there was a difference betwixt his and his predecessors' (the long parliament's) principles, when the law had again, upon a second trial (occasioned by Oliver) cleared Lilburne, the parliament's submitting to the law was no example to him; for, contrary to law, he kept him in prison, untill he was so far spent in a consumption, that he only turned him out to dye.

" 2. Mr. Conie's case is so notorious that it needs but little more than naming: he was a prisoner at Cromwell's suit, and being brought to the King's-Bench barr by a *Habeas Corpus*, had his counsell taken from the barr, and sent to the Tower for no other reason, than the pleading of their client's cause; an act of violence, that, I believe, the whole story of England doth not parallel." This was on the 18th of May, 1655. The gentlemen thus committed, were Maynard, Twisden and Windham, men of great eminence in their profession, who could find no release from their imprisonment, but by humbly petitioning the protector[a].——But to go on.—

" 3dly, Sir Henry Vane, above any one person, was the author of Oliver's advancement, and did so long and cordially espouse his interest, that he prejudiced himself (in the opinion of some) by it, yet so ungrateful was this monster of ingratitude, that he studied to destroy him, both in life and estate, because he could not adhere to him in his perjury and falseness. The occasion he took was

[a] See Mercurius Politicus, No. 298. p. 5354.

before new created tribunals, and adjudged to

this: he appointing a day of humiliation, and seeking of God for him, invited all God's people in his declaration, to offer him their advise in the weighty affairs then upon his shoulders: Sir Henry taking a rise from hence offered his advice by a treatise called the Healing Question; but Cromwell, angry at being taken at his word, seized, imprisoned, and endeavoured to proceed further against him, for doing only what he invited him to do.——

"4thly, In Richard's assembly, certain prisoners in the Tower, under the then lieutenant, and some sent thence to Jersey, and other places beyond the sea, complained of false imprisonment. Their gaoler was sent for, and being required to shew by what authority he kept these persons in hold, produceth a paper all under Oliver's own hand, as followeth. Sir, I pray you seize such and such persons, and all others whom you shall judge dangerous men; do it quickly, and you shall have a warrant after it is done. The nature of this warrant was by Richard's assembly debated, and having first Richard's own counsell's opinion in the case, as serjeant Maynard, &c. they voted the commitments of the complainants to be illegal, unjust and tyrannical; and that, first, because the warrant by which they were committed, was under the hand of the then (as they called him) chief magistrate, who, by law, ought not to commit any by his own warrant. Secondly, Because no cause was shewn in the warrant; and thirdly, (in the case of those sent out of the reach of a *Habeas Corpus*, which in law is a banishment) Because no Englishman ought to be banished by any less authority than an act of parliament. And, therefore, for these reasons they voted farther, that the prisoners should be set at liberty without paying any fees or charges. But the turning out and punishing the lieutenant by the assembly (for obeying so unjust a warrant) was prevented by their sudden dissolution[a]." Most of the

[a] World's Mistake, p. 12—14.

death without the verdict of a jury. These

facts here recited are well known to those versed in this part of the English history, and may be established on the best authorities. But on consulting the Journals of the parliament, here referred to, I find a mistake relating to the commitments by Oliver.——On Saturday the 26th of Feb. 1658, say the Journals, Mr. Terill "reported from the grand committee of the house for grievances and courts of justice, the state of the case, concerning Mr. John Portmans, a prisoner in the Tower, as it appeared to the committee; viz. That the lieutenant of the Tower, the third of February, 1657, received a letter from the late lord protector, early in the morning, directing him to apprehend Mr. John Portmans (amongst others) forthwith: that the same day, in the afternoon, a warrant was sent to the lieutenant of the Tower, under the hand of the late lord protector, to require and authorize him to apprehend and imprison Mr. Portmans: that the same night, or shortly after, upon that warrant, Mr. Portmans was taken by a lieutenant and about six soldiers, under the command, and by the order and direction, of the lieutenant of the Tower; and hath ever sithence remained a prisoner there, without any tryal, or other proceedings had against him."——"On the 26th of March following, the warrant for the commitment and detaining major-general Overton in the Isle of Jersey was read; and was signed Oliver P.; and directed to the governor of the Isle of Jersey or his deputy; and was in these words; viz. These are to will and require you forthwith to receive into your charge the bodies of Robert Overton, major Norwood, and Sir Thomas Armstrong, and ——— Weston, esq; and them detain, under secure imprisonment, in the castle of Jersey, until you shall receive further orders from us: and, for so doing, this shall be your warrant. Given at Whitehall, the 8th of January, 1657. These commitments were voted by the house illegal and unjust, and the gentlemen were ordered to be discharged from their imprisonment."——It appears also from

courts were styled High Courts [70] of justice,

the Journal of the same day, that the committee found, "that divers commoners of England had, by illegal warrants, been committed to prison into the islands of Jersey, and other the islands belonging to this commonwealth, out of the reach of the *Habeas Corpus*." Thus we see that Cromwell, who had opposed and punished Charles for his illegal acts, became an imitator of him, and, in some of these instances, went even beyond him: for I question whether all Charles's reign can produce so daring a violation of the right of the subject, as his imprisoning Maynard and his brethren, for pleading in behalf of Coney their client: nor is there a greater, than the imprisoning and banishing men on his own warrant, and depriving them of the benefit of the laws made for their relief. Vain, indeed, might the unhappy sufferers have said, were the efforts made against the king, when the effect of them was still slavery and oppression!

[70] The High Courts of justice.] The erection of a High Court of justice for the trial of Charles gave rise to many others. When the nature of the supposed crime was such as fell not under the cognizance of the common law; when the persons accused were of a quality which might incline a jury to treat them with compassion and regard; or when they had been engaged in actions popular, though illegal, it was then thought proper by those in power to erect High Courts of justice, in order that offenders might not escape punishment. These courts were constituted of commissioners named by the government, who performed the several offices of judges and juries, and determined concerning the law and the fact. The Attorney-General generally managed the evidence against the prisoners, and few escaped who were cited before these tribunals. The duke of Hamilton, and the lords Holland and Capel, Christopher Love and Mr. Gibbons, with some others, were sentenced to die by courts thus constituted, who, probably, before another kind of judicature, would have met with a milder

the terror of the Royalists, as their enemies

treatment, though, as the laws then were, they could not but be deemed offenders.———When Cromwell came to the government, he made use of the same methods of trial on several occasions: and in the year 1656, the parliament passed "an act for the security of his highness the lord protector his person, and continuance of the nation in peace and safety." In the preamble it is said, "Forasmuch as the prosperity and safety of this nation——very much dependeth, under God, upon the security and preservation of the person of his highness; and, for that it hath manifestly appeared, that divers wicked plots and means have been of late devised and laid——to the great endangering his highness person, and the embroyling this commonwealth in new and intestine wars and seditions; therefore be it enacted, that if any person shall attempt, compass or imagine the death of the lord protector, and declare it by open deed; or shall advisedly and malitiously proclaim, declare, publish or promote Charles Stuart, or any other person claiming from the late king; or shall aid and assist, hold intelligence with, or contribute money towards the assistance of the said Charles Stuart, his brothers or mother, &c. then all and every the offences above-mentioned shall be adjudged to be high treason: and that in all such cases, and upon all such occasions, the lord chancellor, the lord keeper, or lords commissioners of the great seal of England for the time being, are authorised and required, from time to time, by warrant from his highness to issue out one or more commission or commissions, under the great seal of England, to—&c.———or any seventeen or more of them: which said commissioners shall have authority to hear, examine and determine all matters, crimes and offences aforesaid; and also to hear and determine all misprisions of the treasons in this act mentioned, and to take order for charging the offender or offenders, with all or any the crimes aforesaid, and for the receiving their personal answer thereunto; and for examination of witnesses

were their judges!——If to all these things we

upon oath, and thereupon, or upon the confession of the party, or, in default of such answer, to proceed to conviction and final sentence, as in cases of high treason, and misprision of treason, according to justice and the merits of the cause.——Commissioners were also appointed for the same purpose in Scotland and Ireland.———This act was to continue in force unto the end of the last session of the next parliament, and no longer[a]." By this last clause it seems sufficiently evident that the framers of this law were sensible of its severity and ill consequences. However, this seemed to give a sanction to it. But what is unreasonable never satisfies. It was urged that trials by juries were the birthrights of Englishmen; that all trials for treason were to be had and used only according to the due order and course of the common laws of the realm, and not otherwise, upon inquest and presentment by the oaths of twelve good and lawful men, upon good and probable evidence and witness; and that if any thing be done to the contrary, it shall be void in law, redressed and holden for error in nought: and if any statute be made to the contrary, that shall be holden for none. That to proceed against any without legal indictment, presentment and trial, in the way of the high courts of justice, was very unequitable; the commissioners themselves being both grand and petty jury, and judges likewise, if not parties interested, to whom no peremptory or legal challenges could be made; and, finally, that such proceedings were contrary to *Magna Charta*; the petition of right; the declarations of the parliament: and to an article in the instrument of government which was sworn to by the protector himself[b].——How good soever these pleas might have been, they were not suffered to be of use to the prisoners. Judges are generally well enough satisfied of the authority

[a] Scobel. [b] See the Trials of Gerard, Vowel, and Dr. Hewet, in the 2d vol. of State Trials, Fol. 1730.

add the violation of the privileges of[71] parlia-

by which they act, and will not have it questioned. To demur to the jurisdiction, or refuse to answer, is equivalent to the clearest proof of guilt, and judgment is accordingly given. However, the protector had his end by this method of proceeding. "He thought it more effectual," says Whitlock, "than the ordinary course of tryals at the common law, and would the more terrify the offenders[a]:" and terrify it did; for, on the erection of the last High Court of justice, according to Clarendon, "it put all those who knew how liable they themselves were, under a terrible consternation." Whitlock would not sit when nominated as a commissioner, it being, as he says, against his judgment. ——This is to his reputation.———

[71] The violation of the privileges of parliament, &c.] Cromwell seems to have had honest intentions, when he adopted the form of chusing members of parliament, which his old masters had prescribed. "He did not observe, therefore, the old course in sending writs out to all the little boroughs throughout England, which use to send burgesses (by which method some single counties send more members to the parliament than six other counties do) he took a more equal way, by appointing more knights for every shire to be chosen, and fewer burgesses; whereby the number of the whole was much lessened; and yet, the people being left to their own election, it was not, by him, thought an ill temperament, and was then generally looked upon as an alteration fit to be more warrantably made, and in a better time[b]." Indeed, at first sight, it appears that very little room was, or could be given in this way, for bribery and corruption, whether from private hands or the public exchequer. The first speech to the parliament that met September 3, 1654, was calculated to sooth the members, as well as give them great hopes from the new government. After having told them what things he had already

[a] Memorials, p. 673. [b] Clarendon, vol. VI. p. 495.

ment, so much and so justly complained of,

done, and what a prospect there was, through their means, of advancing the happiness of the nation, the protector added, "Having said this, and, perhaps, omitted many other material things through the frailty of my memory, I shall exercise plainness and freedom with you, in telling you, that I have not spoken these things as one that assumes to himself dominion over you; but as one that doth resolve to be a fellow servant with you, to the interest of these great affairs, and to the people of these nations." The parliament, after some needful preliminaries, fell upon business. On the 5th of September it was resolved by them that the house do take the matter of the government into debate the first business to-morrow morning. On that day it was again resolved upon the question, that the subject-matter of the debate to-morrow morning shall be, whether the house shall approve the government shall be in one single person and a parliament. Accordingly, on the three following days, this important subject was debated, wherein the courtiers and republicans exerted themselves[a]. Cromwell was alarmed at these proceedings, and, on the 12th of the same month, sent a message to the parliament, desiring them to meet him in the painted chamber. The members being come, he made, according to his custom, a long speech, expressing his resentment at their conduct, telling them what he expected from them, or else what they must trust to. Among others we find the following passages. "At that meeting [the opening of the parliament] I did acquaint you what the first rise was of this government which hath called you hither; and, in the authority of which you came hither. Among other things that I told you of them, I said you were a free parliament, and so you are, whilst you own the government and authority that called you hither; for, certainly, that word implied a reciprocation, or it implied nothing at all. Indeed there was a

[a] Journals

by writers of different parties and persuasions,

reciprocation implied and expressed; and, I think, your actions and carriages ought to be suitable: but I see it will be necessary for me now a little to magnify my office; which I have not been apt to do.———I had this thought within myself, that it had not been dishonest, nor dishonourable, nor against true liberty, no not of parliaments, when a parliament was so chosen, in pursuance of, in conformity to, and with such an approbation and consent to the government, so that he that runs might read by what authority you came hither, that an owning of your call, and of the authority bringing you hither, might have been required before your entrance into the house; but this was declined, and hath not been done, because I am perswaded scarce any man could reasonably doubt you came with contrary minds. And I have reason to believe the people that sent you least doubted thereof at all; and therefore I must deal plainly with you: what I forbore upon a just confidence at first, you necessitate me unto now; that, seeing the authority that called you is so little valued, and so much slighted, till some such assurance be given and made known, that the fundamental interest of the government be settled and approved, according to the proviso contained in the return, and such a consent testified as will make it appear that the same is accepted, I have caused a stop to be put to your entrance into the parliament house. I am sorry, I am sorry, and I could be sorry to the death, that there is cause for this: but there is cause, and if things be not satisfied that are reasonably demanded, I, for my part, shall do that which becomes me, seeking my counsel from God. There is therefore somewhat to be offered to you, that, I hope, will answer, being understood with the qualifications that I have told you of; reforming circumstantials, and agreeing in the substance and fundamentals, which is the government settled, and is expressed in the indenture not to be altered. The making your minds known in that, by your giving your assent and

we shall be able to form some tolerable judg-

subscription to it, is that which will let you in to act those things as a parliament, which are for the good of the people. And this thing shewed to you, and signed as aforesaid, doth determine the controversy, and may give a happy progress and issue to this parliament. The place where you may come thus and sign, as many as God shall make free thereunto, is in the lobby without the parliament door[a]." ———In this strain spoke the protector, who, agreeably to his threats, caused a stop to be put to their entrance into the parliament house, by guards, till such time as they had subscribed the following recognition: "I do hereby freely promise and engage, to be true and faithful to the lord protector, and the commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland; and shall not, according to the tenor of the indenture, whereby I am returned to serve in this present parliament, propose, or give my consent, to alter the government, as it is settled in one person and a parliament[b]." This was immediately subscribed by the speaker, Lenthall, and many others; and after its being explained "to comprehend not the whole instrument of government, but only what concerned the government of the commonwealth, as it was then settled in one person and a parliament[c]." Much the greater part of the house followed the example. However, this act stuck deep in the minds of the members; between whom and the protector there was so little good will that he dismissed them at the end of five months, the term fixed by the instrument of government for their sitting, with a speech full of reproaches. Mr. Ludlow, and many others, speak loudly against these proceedings of Cromwell, and scruple not to tax them with tyranny.——"So soon," says he, "as this visible hand of violence appeared to be upon them [in the affair of the recognition] most of the eminent assertors of the liberty of their country withdrew them-

[a] Parliamentary History, vol. XX. p. 349—368. [b] Journals. [c] Id.

ment of his illegal and tyrannical actions.

selves, being perswaded they should better discharge their duty to the nation by this way of expressing their abhorrence of his tyrannical proceedings, than by surrendering their liberties under their own hands, and then treating with him who was possessed of the sword, to recover some part of them again[a]."——Another contemporary speaks in a like strain. "These grave, necessary and important debates," says he, "were no sooner entered into, than in contempt of all privileges of parliament, which will not allow matters in debate to be taken notice of, the protector, like a king, *Nam impune quælibet facere, id est, regem esse,* summons them into his presence, with the highest and sharpest language, reproaches them for disputing his authority, by whom they were called together; requires them to renounce and disclaim that liberty, before they proceeded to farther consultation, and to that purpose delivered an instrument, without subscribing to which, the band of soldiers which guarded the door of the parliament house, would not suffer any man to enter, whereupon a major part of the parliament departed to their houses, and they only went in who submitted to the conditions, which many afterwards did, who in detestation of the violence, at that time had forborne to subscribe. Thus he, who without the consent or privity of a dozen persons, had assumed to himself the title and stile of protector of three kingdoms, and therefore found a general submission, because he had bound himself within a short time to call a parliament, that might settle the government, when it was now met and possessed of the power it was to have, because they came together upon his call, would not suffer them to question any thing he had done, or what he should do hereafter, their submission (as he said) to his authority of summoning them, being a tacit acknowledgment of his power, which he would not endure to be argued against, without calling

[a] Ludlow, vol. II. p. 501.

to mind (besides the practice of these last ill years) that by the express letter of the law, any restraint from altering or revoking an ordinance or act of parliament itself, is void, being against the jurisdiction and power of parliament[a]." ——But this treatment was nothing when compared with that which he gave many members returned to the parliament September 17, 1656. After it was deemed expedient (by reason of the Spanish war) to call a parliament to meet at this time, every art was made use of usual on those occasions, money excepted, to procure a choice of such members as might fall in with the views of the protector. Scotland and Ireland were in his own hands, and the members sent from thence were to be depended on, three only of the latter excepted, who met not with approbation[b]. In England things went not so well. For though, it is said, 182 of Cromwell's kinsmen, dependants, placemen or officers, were chosen[c], yet were a great number of zealous republicans and anti-courtiers, of different principles, returned, who wanted not will or ability to give much interruption to the business and designs of the government. This was well known, and therefore without ceremony, admission was given to none who produced not a certificate, signed by the clerk of the commonwealth in chancery, "that he was returned to serve in this present parliament, and approved by the council, [Oliver's][d]." This was undoubtedly an high act of tyranny, and surpassed any thing to be met with in our histories. The gentlemen unapproved were about one hundred; fifty-six of whom sent a letter to the Speaker, Sir Thomas Widdrington, which was read in the house the next day, in these words. "Sir, We whose names are subscribed (with others) being chosen, and accordingly returned to serve with you in this parliament; and, in discharge of our trust, offering to go into the house,

[a] Letter from a true and lawful Member of Parliament, p. 54. [b] Thurloe, vol. V. p. 477. [c] See Narrative of the late Parliament, in the 3d vol. of the Harleian Miscellany, p. 440 [d] Journals. And Thurloe, vol. V. p. 153.

were, at the lobby door, kept back by soldiers: which, lest we should be wanting to our duty to you, and to our country, we have thought it expedient to represent unto you, to be communicated to the house, that we may be admitted thereinto." After the reading this letter it was ordered, That the clerk of the commonwealth in chancery be ordered to attend the house to-morrow morning, with all the indentures of returns of knights, citizens, and burgesses, chosen to serve in this parliament." The deputy of the clerk of the commonwealth attended then with the returns, which being examined, confirmed the truth of what the secluded members had written.—The house being acquainted that the clerk of the commonwealth was himself at the door; he was called in; and by order of the house, Mr. Speaker acquainted him, "That upon the perusal of the indentures, it appears, divers persons are elected, which are not returned to the house: and he was demanded by what order it was done. He returns this answer: that he received an order from his highness's council, that he should deliver tickets to all such persons, and such only, as being returned to serve in parliament, should be certified unto him, from the council, as persons by them approved: and that he did receive several orders of approbation for several persons; and so he made out the tickets." Being demanded whether he had the order itself: answered he knew not whether it were at the door. But being withdrawn; and again brought in by the serjeant; he delivered in the order, subscribed by Mr. Jessorp, clerk of the council. This order being read, it was resolved the next day, "That this house doth desire the council to give unto this house on Monday next, their reasons, why those members, who are returned from the several counties and boroughs for members, are not approved; and why they are not admitted to come into the house." Accordingly on Monday, the 22d of September, "The lord commissioner Fiennes reported by word of mouth, from the council, their answer to the order made by the house, to this effect: Whereas the parliament did desire the council to give unto them,

their reasons, why those members who are returned for the several counties and boroughs for members are not approved; and why they are not admitted into the house; the council have commanded me to return this humble answer: That whereas by a clause in the government it is ordered, that the clerk, called the clerk of the commonwealth, &c. as in the one and twentieth article; and by another clause in the government, it is ordained, That the persons who shall be elected to serve in parliament, shall be such, as are persons of known integrity, fearing God, and of good conversation: That the council in pursuance of their duty, and according to the trust reposed in them, have examined the said returns, and have not refused to approve any who have appeared to them to be persons of integrity to the government, fearing God, and of good conversation: and those who are not approved, his highness hath given order to some persons to take care that they do not come into the house."——This was very plain language, and perfectly well understood by the members. As it appeared therefore in vain to contend with the master of legions, as there might be little disposition, it was resolved on the question by a majority of 125 to 29, "That the persons who have been returned, from the several counties, cities, and boroughs, to serve in this parliament, and have not been approved, be referred to make their application to the council for an approbation; and that the house do proceed with the great affairs of the nation[a]." Thus ended this affair in parliament. But the secluded members, far enough from being satisfied with this determination, made an appeal to the public in a remonstrance which does honour to their courage and abilities. Some parts of it I will here insert. ——"We believe," say they, "the rumour is now gone through the nation, that armed men employed by the lord protector have prevented the free meeting and sitting of the intended parliament, and have forcibly shut out of doors such members as he and his council suppose would

[a] Journals.

not be frighted, or flattered to betray their country, and give up their religion, lives and estates to be at his will, to serve his lawless ambition. But we fear that the slavery, rapines, oppressions, cruelties, murders and confusions that are comprehended in this one horrid fact, are not so sensibly discerned, or so much laid to heart as the case requires; and we doubt not but, as the common practice of the man hath been, the name of God, and religion, and formal fasts and prayers, will be made use of to colour over the blackness of the fact; we do therefore in faithfulness unto God, and our country hereby remonstrate; First, That whereas by the fundamental laws of this nation, the people ought not to be bound by any laws but such as are freely consented unto by their deputies in parliament, and it is a most wicked usurpation, even against the very laws of nature, for any man to impose his will or discretion upon another as a rule, unless there be some pact, or agreement between the parties for that intent. And whereas by the mercy of God only in preserving the fundamental law and liberty, the good people of England have beyond memory of any record preserved their estates, families and lives, which had been otherwise destroyed, at the will of every wicked tyrant; and by keeping this only, as their undoubted right, they have been kept from being brutish slaves to the lusts of their kings, who would otherwise have despoiled them of their persons, lives, and estates, by their proclamations, and the orders of themselves, and their courtiers as they pleased: and by virtue of this their undoubted right the people have commonly disputed, resisted, and made void the proclamations of their kings, and the orders of their council-table, where they have crossed the laws unto which they have consented in their parliaments. Now the lord protector hath by force of arms invaded this fundamental right and liberty, and violently prevented the meeting of the peoples chosen deputies in parliament. And he and his council boldly declare, That none of the peoples deputies shall meet in parliament, unless they agree to the measure of their phantasies, humours, or lusts; they now render the

people such fools or beasts, as know not who are fit to be trusted by them with their lives, estates, and families. But he and his council that daily devour their estates, and liberties, will judge who are fit to counsel and advise about laws to preserve their estates and liberties: thus doth he now openly assume a power to pack an assembly of his confidents, parasites and confederates, and to call them a parliament, that he may thence pretend that the people have consented to become his slaves, and to have their persons and estates at his discretion. And if the people shall tamely submit to such a power, who can doubt but he can pack such a number as will obey all his commands, and consent to his taking of what part of our estates he pleaseth, and to impose what yokes he thinks fit to make us draw in. Secondly, And whereas the parliament of England, consisting of the peoples chosen deputies, always have been, and ought to be the ordainers, and creators of dignities, offices, and authorities in this nation, and have always of right exercised the power of disposing even the kingly office, and authority of enlarging and restraining the kingly power, and of questioning, making void, or confirming all commissions, proclamations, charters, and patents of any of our former kings; and have questioned, censured and judged even the persons of our kings for abusing their trusts, and invading the peoples laws, rights, and liberties; and by this means the highest officers, and the kings themselves have acknowledged their power to be only trusted to them for the peoples welfare; and they have always dreaded the peoples parliaments who could call them to an account for any injustice, or violence done upon the person, or estate of any man; and hereby the people were secured under the laws from the rapine, and oppression of the highest grandees, and courtiers; even the kings themselves, fearing the peoples complaints in their parliaments, and well knowing the peoples custom to choose for their deputies the most known champions for their liberties, against the arbitrary powers, and injustice of the kings and their courtiers; and none of the most wicked

kings in their highest hope to erect a tyranny, ever daring since members were sent to parliaments by elections, to throw aside by force as many of the chosen members as they thought would not serve their ends; they knowing it to be the undoubted right of the people to trust whom they think fit, and as much the right of every man duly chosen and trusted to meet and vote in parliament without asking their leave or begging their tickets. And although here hath been frequently secret designs for many years to subvert religion, liberty and property in this nation, and to that end the designs of tyranny have attempted to destroy, sometimes the being, and sometimes the power, privileges and freedom of parliaments, yet the mercy of God hath almost miraculously preserved the being, privileges and authority of parliaments, and therein religion, liberty and property, until the time of the lord protector. But now he hath assumed an absolute arbitrary sovereignty (as if he came down from the throne of God) to create in himself, and his confederates, such powers and authorities, as must not be under the cognizance of the peoples parliaments. His proclamations he declares shall be binding laws to parliaments themselves, he takes upon him to be above the whole body of the people of England, and to judge and censure the whole body, and every member of it, by no other rule or law than his pleasure, as if he were their absolute lord, and had bought all the people of England for his slaves. Doubtless, if he would pretend only to have conquered England at his own expence, and were there as much truth as there is falshood in that pretence, yet he could not but know that the right of the peoples deputies in parliament to their antient powers and privileges, would remain good against him, as against their publick capital enemy, whom every man ought to destroy, until by some agreement with the body of the people in parliament, some sort of governing power in him were submitted unto, that hereby he might cease to be a publick enemy and destroyer, and become a king or governor according to the conditions accepted by the people, and if he would so pre-

tend, he could not be so discharged from his publick enmity by any conditions or agreement made with a part of the peoples chosen deputies, whilst he shut out the other part; for no part of the representative body are trusted to consent to any thing in the nation's behalf, if the whole have not their free liberty of debating, and voting in the matters propounded. If he would pretend no higher than to be our conqueror, who for peace and his own safety's sake was content to cease from being a publick enemy, and to be admitted a governor, he could not compass those ends by forcibly excluding (as now he hath done) whom he pleased of the representative body of the people, who were to submit to him in the people's behalf; therefore either takes upon him to be such a conqueror as scorns the peoples acceptance of him by their representative as their governor, and fears not to remain a publick enemy, or else he takes himself to be such an unheard-of sovereign, that against him the people have no claim of right, or property in themselves, or any thing else; for he hath now declared that the people's choice cannot give any man a right to sit in parliament, but the right must be derived from his gracious will and pleasure, with that of his counsellors; and his clerks ticket only must be their evidence for it. Thus hath he exalted himself to a throne like unto God's, as if he were of himself, and his power from himself, and we were all made for him, to be commanded and disposed of by him, to work for him, and serve his pleasure and ambition. Seeing therefore this total subversion of all law and right, and the distractions, miseries, blood and confusions, that will be the most certain consequences of it, and withall, remembering the late effusion of blood upon no other account than to secure religion, liberty and property, and the freedom, power and privileges of parliaments, as the bulwarks thereof; and that by those very hands who now overturn the very foundations of all liberty, right and property, and of the beings of parliaments; and our very souls trembling at the loud cries of that sea of blood, and at the horrid clamours of the many falsified oaths and promises

made upon the same account."——"For the acquitt[a]l, therefore of their souls, they solemnly protested and remonstrated unto all the good people of England, that the violent exclusion of the people's deputies in parliament, doth change the state of the people from freedom into meer slavery; that such members of parliament as shall approve the forcible exclusion complained of, or shall sit, vote and act, while many members are by force shut out, are betrayers of the liberties of England, and adherents to the capital enemies of the commonwealth; and that the present assembly at Westminster, being under the awe and terror of the lord protector, is not the representative body of England, nor can tax or tallage be justly or lawfully raised by them[a]."

This remonstrance being "printed was sent in great white boxes some 1000 of them, to be left in several houses in London, and by them to be delivered out when called for."——But the court having private intelligence of the matter, "got four or five of the boxes from the owners of the houses," and thereby prevented their being dispersed according to the intention of the subscribers[b].——I am sorry to add, that many of the gentlemen, who put their hands to this admirable remonstrance, were but mere talkers, and soon found a way to ingratiate themselves with the protector, take their seats in the house, and servilely adore him whom in such terrible colours they here blacken! So uncertain are the signs of patriotism! But in justice it must be said that there were others of them who were true to their principles, and above being worked on by fear or flattery. These at length, in virtue of an article in the Humble Petition and Advice, which required "that those persons who were legally chosen by a free election of the people to serve in parliament, should not be excluded from sitting therein, but by judgment and consent of the house whereof they were members," were also admitted to their seats January 20, 1657, O. S. The oath taken by them on this

[a] Whitlock, p. 651. [b] Thurloe, vol. V. p. 456.

Possibly, however, some persons will find an

occasion, was in these words. "I A. B. do, in the presence, and by the name of God Almighty, promise and swear, that, to the uttermost of my power, in my place, I will uphold and maintain the true reformed, protestant, christian religion, in the purity thereof, as it is contained in the Holy Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, and encourage the profession and professors of the same; and that I will be true and faithful to the lord protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging, as chief magistrate thereof; and shall not contrive or design, or attempt any thing against the person or lawful authority of the lord protector: and shall endeavour, as much as in me lies, as a member of parliament, the preservation of the rights and liberties of the people[a]."——Thus was the wise taken in his own craftiness! Men under a deep sense of injury, were now admitted into the house, who, it might have been foreseen, would use their utmost endeavour to embarrass and perplex that government, which they had looked on and treated as usurped and tyrannical. It must not be omitted that this parliament was dissolved also in great resentment by the protector.—— These were the high and arbitrary proceedings of Cromwell; proceedings which might easily induce a very ingenious writer to observe that "he who hated the tyrant, admired the tyranny[b]." For what more odious in the reign of the conquered king, than these? What more opposite to the principles of liberty and freedom? "In the reign, or rather under the tyranny, of this single hand, the whole government and administration contradicted the national constitution; but this contradiction, was planned by a craft and policy as dexterous, as it was new; and carried on by a genius as bold as cunning. Cromwell, when mounted to the head of affairs, found the materials of liberty and freedom rooted in the people, but saw, that these materials were with-

[a] Journals.

[b] Liberty and Right; part I. p. 39. 8vo. Lond. 1747.

apology for some of these [72] proceedings, in the

out form, without orders, and without laws, to bind and secure them. The people were powerful, but ignorant and divided; divided in opinion, and ignorant of true government and real security. Cromwell therefore applied himself to the times; encouraged, discountenanced, protected and oppressed by turns, different sects and parties; and thus artfully keeping them divided in their religious and civil views, prevented the nation from uniting in any thing that was natural and proper to freedom and liberty. The same army which had conquered for the people, he taught by mutilation, augmentation, largesses and privileges, to oppress the people [a]."——How far this is a just representation, the foregoing notes will enable the reader to determine.

[72] Some may find an apology—in the situation and circumstances of the protector.] "Civil war is naturally more subject to rigour," says Mr. Ascham, "than other wars: because they who yesterday were enemies, would be inhabitants always. The conqueror suspects that these will be the first infringers of his new laws; the violation of which ought at the beginning to be severeliest censured, as of dangerous consequence.——Wherefore for these reasons though the usurper thought not of establishing himself in an absolute jurisdiction, yet at last he will find himself obliged to secure his conquest by the same means he obtained it. And Dido gave Æneas the true reason of the same case [b]."

Res dura & regni novitas me talia cogunt
Moliri, & latè fines custode tueri. VIRG.

——— My cruel fate,
And doubts attending an unsettled state,
Force me to guard my coasts——— DRYDEN.

This had long before been taught by Machiavel, in the following words: "When a prince would keep his subjects united and faithful, he must not heed the reproach of cruelty;

[a] Liberty and Right, part I. p. 39. 8vo. Lond. 1747. [b] Confusions and Revolutions of Governments, p. 97. 12mo. Lond. 1649.

situation and circumstances of the protector.

for if he makes a few examples of justice, he acts with less cruelty than those who, through an excess of mercy, suffer many disorders to arise, which occasion rapine and murder. Now these are prejudicial to the whole society; whereas particular executions, which are ordered by the prince, affect only particular men. Besides, all new governments are exposed to so many dangers, that it is impossible for a new prince to avoid the scandal of being cruel. Thus Virgil makes Dido say,

Res, &c. [a]."

If ever any prince upon earth had reason to act on these principles, it was Cromwell. Without some acts of severity what could he have done? How tottering would have been his throne? How precarious his life? The cavaliers, the presbyterians, the republicans, and the fifth-monarchy-men were all his foes, and even his most intimate friends did not approve his management in a variety of respects.——Mr. St. John, between whom and the protector there had been the nearest union, highly disliked his setting up himself. "He," [St. John] says Mr. Thurloe, "was so far from advising Oliver to set up himself, that to the best of my knowledge and observation he was a great enemy to it, and hath often to me spake against it. And as for that called the Instrument of Government, I never spake with my lord St. John, either about the whole or any part of it (nor ever heard that any body else did) until some months after it was published in print, when going to visit him after a long and dangerous sickness,——he told me, he had just then read our government; and taking it up in his hands, he cast it from him in great dislike, and sayed, is this all the fruit the nation shall have of their warre? or words to that purpose; and then tooke occasion to speak much against it. And as he had nothinge to doe in settinge up this government, soe

[a] Prince, c. 17. Consult also Amelot de la Houssay's notes on the place.

——Had he accepted the kingship, which

neither was there, soe farr as I knowe or have heard, communication of counsels between Oliver and him, m.. ately or immediately, touchinge the management of part of the publique affairs, my lord St. John always rel inge to meddle in any thinge, but what concerned his place as a judge; and in that he refused to proceed upon any of the laws made under that government; for which he was complayned of to the counsell, and it was imputed to his example, that the judges refused to act, upon the last high court of justice. Nor was hee (to my knowledge) advised with in the Petition and Advice. The truth is, that my lord St. John was so far from being a confident, that some, who loved and valued him, had something to doe to preserve him under that government[a]." In a letter to Henry Cromwell dated 16 December, 1656, he says, " His Highnesse meetes with his tryals here at home of all sorts, beinge under daylye exercises from one hand or other; and I wish he may not have occasion to say, My familiar friends, in whom I trusted, have lifted up the heele against me[b]." It appears also from a variety of Mr. Secretary's letters, that the protector's government was clogged with great difficulties, and that the opposition made to it was fierce and violent. In a letter to Henry Cromwell, then major-general of the army in Ireland, dated 20th May, 1656, he says, " Blessed be God, that all things remain quiett in Ireland; soe they doe alsoe here. Both is very much against the intentions of enemies of all sorts, who have their daily meetinges for begettinge trouble. The Spanyard, cavaleir, papists and levellers, are all come into a confederacy. What monstrous birth this wombe will bring forth, I cannot tell. They threaten hard, but I perceive they are not yet quite ready. The common-wealthsmen looke also for a sudden turne, and hope they shall play next[c]." In another letter written to the same, 16 June, 1656, he says, " Wee are yet very much troubled with the

[a] Thurloe, vol. VII. p. 914. [b] Id. vol. V. p. 708. [c] Id. vol. V. p. 45.

offered by his parliament, a firmer settlement

fifth-monarchy-men and the levellers, who have their constant meetinge to put us in blood. By the levellers, I meane those, who pretend to a republique or popular forme of government.——It is certain it doth behove us to have a watchful eye upon that interest[a]."——There was reason for it. Algernon Sydney (a name ever venerable!) called Cromwell, as he said on his trial, "A tyrant every day of his life, and acted against him too[b]."——And to such a height of resentment had some warm men of the party carried it, as to join with their old and sworn foes in order to destroy him. "The levellers," Mr. Thurloe tells the same gentleman, in a letter dated December 9, 1656, "are very buissie, and are in perfect conjunction with the kinge of Spayne. The part they have first undertaken, is to assassinate my lord protector, and have laid the way of doing it. This I know with as much certeintye, as that your lordship is in Ireland. I trust the Lord will dissapoint them, as he hath done; but wee see hereby the spirit of these men[c]."——With regard to his parliaments after his assuming the protectorate, they were composed of men, a good part of whom were his ill-willers. "In the debates, concerning Cromwell's accepting the crown, some of the cavalier party, or rather their children, came to bear some share. They were then all zealous commonwealths-men, according to the directions sent them from those about the king. Their business was to oppose Cromwell on all demands, and so to weaken him at home, and expose him abroad. When some of the other party took notice of this great change, from being the abettors of prerogative to become the patrons of liberty, they pretended their education in the court, and their obligation to it had engaged them that way; but now since that was out of doors, they had the common principles of human nature and the love of liberty in them. By this means, as the old republi-

[a] Thurloe, vol. V. p. 122. [b] Trial, p. 33. Lond. folio, 1684. [c] Thurloe, vol. V. p. 694.

and a milder administration might have taken

cans assisted and protected them, so at the same time they strengthned the faction against Cromwell. But these very men at the restoration shook off this disguise, and reverted to their old principles for a high prerogative and absolute power. They said they were for liberty, when it was a mean to distress one who they thought had no right to govern; but when the government returned to its old channel, they were still as firm to all prerogative notions, and as great enemies to liberty as ever[a]."——In certain conjunctures this may again happen, notwithstanding the smooth talk of coalition or extinction of parties!

Mr. Maidstone speaking of the protector's first parliament, says, "The house consisting of many disobliged persons (some upon the king's account, and others upon a pretence of right to sit upon the former foundation, as not being legally, though forceably, dissolved; and others judging that the powers given by the instrument of government to the protector were too large; professing that though they were willing to trust him, yet they would not trust his successors with so large a jurisdiction) fell into high animosities; and after five months spent in framing another instrument instead of the former (which they said they could not swallow without chewing) they were by the protector dissolved[b]." Mr. Whitlock informs us, "That this parliament continued their debates touching the government, wherein many things were spoken, which gave great offence to the protector and his council, and cause of suspicion that no good was to be expected from them[c]." Many of these same men, in spite of court influence, were chosen in the next parliament, and Cromwell, that matters might go on the more smoothly, ordered them to be denied admittance. In pursuance however of the humble Petition and Advice, as before mentioned, they afterwards took their seats, and

[a] Burnet, vol. I. p. 70. [b] Thurloe, vol. I. p. 765. [c] Whitlock, p. 610.

place: but his most intimate friends[73] op-

gave the protector great vexation by spurning at the new erected house of lords, and controverting their title. I need not add that the government was continually alarmed with plots and conspiracies, and that juries were but ill disposed to do justice on state criminals.——These are some of the chief arguments that may be urged in favour of the violent and illegal acts of Cromwell. His situation and circumstances were perplexed and dangerous, and would he secure himself, or those who depended on him, severity and rigour seemed requisite.——"What would you have one in my station do? said he to some who talked to him about his excesses and usurpation. He was well answered, says Mr. Gordon, Sir, we would have nobody in your station. To vindicate murder," continues this writer, "from the necessity of committing it, in order to conceal robbery; is to argue like a murderer and a robber; but it is honest logic, to reply, Do not rob, and then you need not be tempted to murder; but if you will do one, and consequently both, remember that punishment does or ought to follow crimes, and the more crimes the more punishment. If, by a repetition of crimes, you become too mighty to be punished, you must be content to be accursed and abhorred as an enemy to human race; you must expect to have all men for your enemies, as you are an enemy to all men; and since you make sport of the lives and liberties of men, you must not wonder, nor have you a right to complain, if they have all of them memories and feeling, and some of them courage and swords[a]." It would be injustice however to Cromwell, not to add, that his severities were but few, and those exercised only on real criminals, as the laws then stood.

[73] He refused the offered kingship.] Cromwell was no enemy to the name or office of king. He had helped to pull down and punish Charles, but he was disposed enough to sit on the throne. The times then would not bear it.

[a] Discourses on Tacitus, vol. IV. p. 207. 12mo. Lond. 1753.

posing, he, contrary to his own inclinations

But in a few years he thought seriously of the affair, and was inclined to try the experiment. Prudence however restrained him. But when he had got a parliament to his mind, as that called in 1656, in the beginning was, it was no longer to be delayed. "The settlement of the nation was deliberated on, and a writing framed, which the parliament stiled The humble petition and advice of the parliament of England, Scotland and Ireland to his highness." "The first business of it was," says Whitlock, "for the protector to have the title of king." "This petition and advice was presented to his highness by the house, and he desired that a committee might be appointed to confer with him about it[a]." Accordingly a committee was appointed, who on the 16th of April, 1657, "Had audience of his highness, and gave him such reasons as he declared to be weighty, and to require deliberation, and therefore desired some time till the next afternoon to give answer to them[b]." In this conference it was urged by the lawyers, particularly by the lord chief justice Glynne, "That the office of a king was a lawful office, and a title too, approved of by the word of God: that it was an office that had been exercised in the nation, from the time of its being a nation, and that there never had been a quarrel with the office, but the male-administration.——The name of king," said he, "is a name known by the law, and the parliament doth desire that your highness would assume that title. These are the grounds why the parliament make it their humble advice and request to your highness, that you would be pleased to assume that title; and I think there is something more in it: you are now lord protector of the three nations by the instrument, and there is a clause of this government that you should govern according to law, and your highness is sworn to that government. The parliament doth apprehend that it is almost impossible for your highness to answer the ex-

[a] Whitlock, p. 655. [b] Journals.

and supposed interest, declined it; and after

pectation of the people to be governed by the laws, because you are so tied up, that neither they can rationally call for it, nor you conscientiously do it, and so there is neither lord protector, nor the people upon a sure establishment. For here stands the case: a king hath run through so many ages in this nation, and hath governed the nation by that title and style, that it is known to the law; for the law of the nation is no otherwise, than what hath been a custom to be practised, as is approved by the people to be good. That's the law, and nothing else, excepting acts of parliament. And now they have been governed by that title, and by that minister, and by that office, if so be your highness should do any act, and one should come and say, My lord protector, why are you sworn to govern by the law, and you do thus and thus as lord protector?——Do I? Why how am I bound to do?——Why, the king could not have done so.——Why, but I am not king, I am not bound to do as the king, I am lord protector; shew me that the law doth require me to do it as protector; if I have not acted as protector, shew me where the law is.——Why you put any one to a stumble in that case.

"This is one thing that I humbly conceive, did stick in the parliament as to that particular. Another thing is this: you are protector, which is a new office not known to the law, and made out of doors: you are called upon, that you would be pleased to accept the office of a king, that is, by the whole people. It's the first government that since these troubles hath been tendred by a general and universal consent of the people. Another thing is this,—if any man should find fault with them and say, why how came you to make governments in this case? the answer is,—We are a parliament, and have your suffrage; you have ever trusted us with all your votes, and we will justify it: but besides we have not done it neither; we have but settled it upon the old foundations.——Then the kingship; however some may pretend a king's pre-

experiencing many troubles and vexations in

rogative is so large we know it not, it is not bounded.—— But the parliament are not of that opinion.—The king's prerogative is known by law: if he should expatiate it beyond the duty, that is the evil of the man: but in Westminster-hall the king's prerogative was under the courts of justice, and was bounded as well as any acre of land, or any thing a man hath, as much as any controversy between party and party.——And therefore the office being lawful in its nature, known to the nation, certain in itself, and confined and regulated by the law, and the other office not being so, that was a great ground of the reason why the parliament did so much insist upon this office, not as circumstantial, but as essential[a]."——What force there is in all this the gentlemen of the long robe can best determine. It is certain it would not have been judged sound doctrine by those who possessed the supreme authority of the commonwealth of England, after the death of Charles.——— Lord Broghill, after mentioning some things of a like nature, proceeded to the advantages which would accrue to his highness and the people in accepting the crown which was then tendered.—" By your highness's bearing the title of king," said he, " all those that obey and serve you, are secured by a law made long before any of our differences had a being, in the IId Hen. 7[b], where a full provision is made for the safety of those who shall serve whoever is king: it is by that law that hitherto our enemies have pleaded indemnity; and by your assuming what is now desired, that law which hitherto they pretended for their disobedience, ties them even by their own profession and principles to obedience. And I hope taking off all pretences from so numerous a party may not be a thing unworthy consideration. That law seems very rational; for it doth not provide for any particular person or family, but

[a] Monarchy asserted, p. 16. And Parliamentary History, vol. XXI. p. 78.
[b] See Clarendon, vol. VI. p. 589.

his government, he died (of a double tertian

for the peace and safety of the people, by obeying whoever is in that office and bears that title. The end of all government is to give the people justice and safety; and the best means to attain that end is to settle a supream magistrate. It would therefore seem very irrational, that the people having attained the end, should decline that end only to follow the means, which are but conducing to that end; so that if the title and office of king, be vested in your highness, and that thereby the people enjoy their rights and peace, it would be little less than madness, for any of them to cast off those blessings, only in order to obtain the same ends under another person. There is, added his lordship, at present but a divorce between the pretending king and the imperial crown of these nations; and we know that persons divorced may marry again; but if the person be married to another, it cuts off all hope. These may be some of those reasons, which invited the parliament to make that desire, and give that advice to your highness of assuming the title of king. There is another, and a very strong one, which is, that now they have actually given you that advice; and the advices of parliaments are things which always ought, and therefore I am confident will carry with them very great force and authority: nor doth this advice come singly, but accompanied with many other excellent things, in reference to our civil and spiritual liberties, which your highness hath borne a just and signal testimony to. It is also a parliament, who have given unquestionable proofs of their affection to your highness; and who, if listned to in this particular, will be thereby encouraged to give you more[a]." ——These arguments no doubt had great force with Cromwell, who long ago had thought much on the subject[b]. To settle and secure the peace of the nation, to conciliate the minds of the adverse party, and establish himself and

[a] Clarendon, p. 27. and p. 88. [b] See note 45.

ague) on the third of September, one thousand

family on the throne in a legal manner, were indeed worthy both the ambition and public-spiritedness of the man. But his situation required caution; he had difficulties to encounter, and therefore took time to balance. This will be best explained by the following quotations. Mr. Maidstone tells us, "That the protector would have closed with the parliament, as he thought, in this affair, not out of lust to that title, (I am perswaded, says he,) but out of an apprehension that it would have secured, in a better way, the nation's settlement: but the party, to whom the protector ever professed to owe himself (being of the generality of his standing friends) rose so high in opposition to it (by reason of the scandal, that thereby would fall upon his person and profession) as it diverted him, and occasioned him to take investiture in his government, though from them, yet under his former title of protector[a]."——It appears from a letter of Thurloe's to Henry Cromwell, dated 21 April, 1657, that the protector deliberated much on the affair, and kept every body in suspence about it. "Certainly," says he, "his highness hath very great difficulties in his owne minde, although he hath had the clearest call that ever man had; and for ought I see, the parliament will not be perswaded, that there can be any settlement any other way. The title is not the question, but it's the office, which is knowne to the laws and this people. They know their duty to a kinge, and his to them. Whatever else there is will be wholly new, and be nothing else but a probationer, and upon the next occasion will be changed againe. Besides, they say, the name protector, came in by the sword out of parliament, and will never be the ground of any settlement; nor will there be a free parliament soe long as that continues; and as it savours of the sword now, soe it will at last bringe all thinges to be military. These and other considerations, make men, who

[a] Thurloe, vol. I. p. 765.

six hundred fifty-eight; aged somewhat more

are for settlement, steady in their resolutions as to this government now in hand; not that they lust after a kinge, or are peevish upon any account of opposition; but they would lay foundations of libertye and freedome, which they judge this the next way to. My lord deputy [Fleetwood] and general Desbrowe, oppose themselves with all earnestness against this title, but think the other things in the Petition and Advice are very honest. The other gentleman [Lambert I suppose] stands at distance, has given over his opposition, and lets thinges take their owne course. Many of the soldiers are not only content, but are very well satisfied with this change. Some indeed grumble, but that's the most, for ought I can perceive. And surely whatever resolutions his highness takes, they will be his owne, there beinge nothing from without, that should be any constreint upon him, either to take or refuse it[a]."—— On the 5th of May the secretary informs the same gentleman, that Fleetwood and Desbrowe seemed to be very much fixed against the protector's being king, "And," says he, "speak of nothing but giving over their commands: and all imployment, if he doth accept that title; others also, speak the same language; so that our difficulties are many[b]."

But Cromwell, who had been used to difficulty and opposition, was not easily to be daunted. He took those measures which prudence suggested, and endeavoured to win over his old friends by raillery and persuasion. From time to time he delayed giving his answer on this important subject, and tried by "all possible means," says Ludlow, "to prevail with the officers of the army to approve his design; and knowing that lieutenant-general Fleetwood and col. Desbrowe were particularly averse to it, he invited himself to dine personally with the colonel, and carried the lieutenant-general with him, where he began to

[a] Thurloe, vol. VI. p. 219. [b] Id. p. 261.

than fifty-nine years and four months. By

droll with them about monarchy, and speaking slightly of it, said it was but a feather in a man's cap, and therefore wondered that men would not please children, and permit them to enjoy their rattle. But he received from them, as col. Desbrowe since told me, such an answer as was not at all sutable to his expectations or desires. For they assured him there was more in this matter than he perceived; that those who put him upon it were no enemies to Charles Stuart; and that if he accepted of it, he would infallibly draw ruin on himself and friends. Having thus sounded their inclinations, that he might conclude in the manner he had begun, he told them they were a couple of scrupulous fellows, and so departed. The next day he sent a message to the house, to require their attendance in the painted chamber the next morning, designing as all men believed, there to declare his acceptance of the crown. But in the mean time meeting with col. Desbrowe in the great walk of the park, and acquainting him with his resolution, the colonel made answer, that he then gave the cause and Cromwell's family also for lost; adding, that though he was resolved never to act against him, yet he would not act for him after that time; so after some other discourse upon the same subject, Desbrowe went home, and there found col. Pride, whom Cromwell had knighted with a faggot-stick; and having imparted to him the design of Cromwell to accept the crown, Pride answered he shall not: 'Why,' said the colonel, 'how wilt thou hinder it?' To which Pride replied, 'get me a petition drawn, and I will prevent it[a].'"——A petition was drawn, and by colonel Mason, in the name of divers officers of the army, delivered to the house, May 8, 1657[b]. The contents of it were to this purpose: "That they had hazarded their lives against monarchy, and were still ready so to do, in defence of the liberties of the nation: that having observed in some men

[a] Ludlow, vol. II. p. 586. [b] Journals.

Elizabeth, his only wife, he had several chil-

great endeavours to bring the nation again under their old servitude, by pressing their general to take upon him the title and government of a king; in order to destroy him, and weaken the hands of those who were faithful to the publick; they therefore humbly desired that they would discountenance all such persons and endeavours, and continue stedfast to the old cause, for the preservation of which, they, for their parts, were most ready to lay down their lives.——This petition was subscribed by two colonels, seven lieutenant-colonels, eight majors, and sixteen captains, who with such officers in the house as were of the same opinion, made up the majority of those relating to that part of the army which was then quartered about the town. It is difficult to determine whether the house or Cromwell was more surprised at this unexpected address; but certainly both were infinitely disturbed at it. As soon as the notice of it was brought to Cromwell, he sent for lieutenant-general Fleetwood, and told him, that he wondered he would suffer such a petition to proceed so far, which he might have hindered, since he knew it to be his resolution not to accept the crown without the consent of the army; and therefore desired him to hasten to the house, and to put them off from doing any thing farther therein. The lieutenant-general immediately went thither, and told them that the petition ought not to be debated, much less to be answered at this time, the contents of it being to desire them not to press the protector to be king, whereas the present business was to receive his answer to what had been formerly offered him, and therefore desired that the debate of it might be put off, till they had received his answer. To this the house having consented, they received a message from Cromwell, that instead of meeting him in the painted chamber, which was the place where he used to give his consent, they would meet him in the banquetting-house: so the members came to Whitehall, and Cromwell with great ostentation of his self-denyal

dren, of whom six survived him, viz. two sons

refused the title of king[a]." This refusal was on the 12th of May, 1657. The conclusion of the speech made by the protector on this memorable occasion, was in these words: "I should not be an honest man, if I should not tell you, that I cannot accept of the government, nor undertake the trouble and charge of it; which I have a little more experimented than every body, what troubles and difficulties do befall men under such trusts, and in such undertakings: I say, I am perswaded to return this answer to you; that I cannot undertake this government, with the title of king: and that is my answer to this great and weighty business[b]." ——Mr. Thurloe's account of this affair, written soon after it was transacted, to Henry Cromwell, as it in a good measure confirms the above relation of Ludlow's, will, I believe, not be unacceptable to the reader. "His highnesse," saith he, "hath declared that he could not give his consent to the parliaments advice, because of the title kinge. I perceive this hath strucke a great dampe upon the spirits of some, and much raised and elevated others. His highnesse was pleased upon the Wednesday and Thursday before, to declare to several of the house, that he was resolved to accept it with that title; but just in the very nicke of tyme he took other resolutions, the three great men professinge their great unfreenesse to act, and sayd, that ymmediately after his acceptance thereof, they must withdraw from all publick ymployment, and soe they believed would severall other officers of quality, that had been engaged all alonge in this warre. Besides, the very morning the house expected his highnesse would have come to have given his consent to the bill, some 26 or 27 officers came with a petition to the parliament, to desire them not to presse his highnesse any farther about kingship. The petition was brought to the barr by lieutenant-colonel Mason, who was the cheife man, who promoted it,

[a] Ludlow, vol. II. p. 589. [b] Journal.

and four daughters. 1. Richard his successor, married to the eldest daughter of Richard Major, Esq; [a] 2. Henry, who married a daugh-

and went up and down from man to man to get hands thereunto. The petition was not read, but layed by, and some moved, that the house would take it into their consideration, as a breach of priviledge; but that was neither thought fit to be hearkned unto. It is hard to guesse what will be done next[b]." However, it was on the 22d of May resolved by the parliament that, instead of the paragraph relating to the title of king in the Humble Petition and Advice, the following clause should be inserted; viz. "That your highness would be pleased, by and under the name and style of lord protector of the commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, and the dominions and territories thereunto belonging, to hold and exercise the office of chief magistrate of these nations; and to govern according to this petition and advice, in all things therein contained; and in all other things according to the laws of these nations and not otherwise[c]."——On the 25th, the humble petition and advice being presented by the parliament, was solemnly sworn to by his highness, who with great pomp was then anew inaugurated[d].——Thus Cromwell was baulked in his hopes of the diadem by his near relations and intimate friends! Men of principle we may suppose, who chose rather to disoblige him, and forfeit their employments than to build again what they had destroyed. Rare examples of integrity.——Had the crown been placed on the head of the protector, in pursuance of the advice of the parliament, it is not improbable it might have strengthened his own government, and enabled him to transmit to posterity many very valuable privileges[e]. But for want of this, his house of peers was of no weight; his army was

[a] See Appendix. [b] Thurloe, vol. VI. p. 281. [c] Journals. And Thurloe, vol. VI. p. 310. [d] See Whitlock's Account of it in note 8. [e] See the Humble Petition and Advice.

ter of Sir Francis Russel of Chippenham in Cambridgeshire. His daughters were, 1. Bridget, married to commissary general Ireton, and

necessary, but troublesome; and he was perpetually exposed to the clamours or conspiracies of several factions. ——Certain it is, it was eligible in his own eye, and in the eye of Thurloe, and therefore it may well be supposed they saw many advantages in it.———It appears at first sight that it would have restored the constitution, as founded on an original contract. As mention has been made more than once of Cromwell's house of lords, it is proper the reader should have some information concerning them. The second article of the petition and advice recommended the calling of parliaments consisting of two houses. This suited well with the title of king, which was at first intended for the protector; and probably, if that had been assumed, many of the antient nobility and gentry would have been pleased to have had seats in the upper house. But though the crown was refused, the project of a house of lords was continued. The number was not to exceed seventy, nor to be less than forty. Their nomination was placed in the protector, with the approbation of the house of commons. Cromwell was under some difficulty about the choice. Some were fit, but not willing to serve, others willing and desirous, but very unfit. At length, on the 10th of December, 1657, another house was nominated, and writs issued out for summoning the members of it; who on the 20th of January following, sat in that which was formerly the house of lords. The number of the members of this house were sixty-two, among whom were the earls of Manchester, Mulgrave, and Warwick; the lords Say and Sele, Fauconberg, Wharton, Eure, and Howard, afterwards earl of Carlisle; the viscount Lisle, eldest son of the earl of Leicester, the lord Broghill, and the earl of Cassils; besides many gentlemen of the best families, such as Montague, Russel, Hobart, Onslow, St. John, Pierpoint, Crew, Popham, Hampden and

afterwards to lieutenant-general Fleetwood. 2. Elizabeth, wife to John Cleypole, Esq. 3. Mary, married to lord Fauconberg. 4. Frances, wife to Mr. Rich, grandson of the earl of War-

others. Intermixed with these were men who had risen by their own valour and interest from very small beginnings and mean employments; of which sort were Jones, Pride, Hewson, Barkstead, Whalley, Goff, Berry and Cooper. To these were added the protector's two sons, his sons-in-law Cleypole and Fleetwood, the commissioners of the great seal, and of the treasury, with others of near relation to the court [a]. All the old nobility, lord Eure excepted, refused to sit in this new assembly, on account, I suppose, of the mean original of some of the company, or of the authority by which they were convened.—However, they did nothing of any importance. The secluded members being admitted into the house of commons, as before observed, turned all things against the court; refused any intercourse with the new house of lords, and behaved so ill in the eye of the protector, that, in great heat, he dissolved them.——This was the last parliament that sat during Cromwell's life, "he being compelled to wrestle with the difficulties of his place, says Mr. Maidstone, so well as he could, without parliamentary assistance, and in it met with so great a burden, as (I doubt not to say it, drank up his spirits, of which his natural constitution yielded a vast stocke,) and brought him to his grave[b]." This seems to confirm what Burnet says, "that it was generally believed that his life and all his arts were exhausted at once, and that if he had lived much longer, he could not have held things together[c]." Mr. Cowley observes, "that he seemed evidently to be near the end of his deceitful glories, and his own army grew at last

[a] Walkly's New Catalogue of Lords, &c. and Second Narrative of the late Parliament, &c. printed in the 5th year of England's slavery under its new monarchy. 4to. 1658. [b] Thurloe, vol. I. p. 706. [c] Vol. I. p. 68.

wick, and afterwards to Sir John Russel, of Chippenham, in Cambridgeshire.

In his death he displayed his wonted [74] firmness and enthusiasm. His body was buried

as weary of him as the rest of the people[a]." In another place he tells us, "it was believed Cromwell died with grief and discontent, because he could not attain to the honest name of a king, and the old formality of a crown, though he had before exceeded the power by a wicked usurpation." ——That care, anxiety, disappointment and vexation prey on the spirits, and waste the constitution, is known to all; that these were the lot of Cromwell, as they are of most of those who are placed on the pinnacle of glory, and attentive to their duty and their fame, may very easily be conceived by such as have read the foregoing notes; that the government of Cromwell was greatly embarrassed by the madness of parties, the estrangement of friends, and the want of money to pay the armies which it was necessary to keep on foot: I say that this was so, is too evident to be denied.—— But had the life of the protector been prolonged, it is not impossible he might have got the better of his difficulties, and maintained his post in spite of all opposition. For we are to remember it was Cromwell who had dared to seize the government; to raise money by his own authority; to create and dissolve parliaments; to combat with kings, and to scatter terror through the nations.—By what means he would have done this, whether by securing Fleetwood and Desbrowe, to whom he owed his disappointment, in assuming the crown, and calling another parliament, must be left to the conjecture of the reader. The latter he certainly had thoughts of before his sickness [b].

[74] In his death he displayed his wonted firmness and enthusiasm.] "When the symptoms of death," says Mr.

[a] Discourse on the government of Oliver Cromwell, p. 96. [b] Thurloe, vol. VII. p. 99.

with more than regal magnificence[a] in West-minster-Abbey, from whence, after the Restoration, it was removed and treated with all pos-

Ludlow, "were apparent upon him, and many ministers and others assembled in a chamber at Whitehall, praying for him, whilst he manifested so little remorse of conscience for his betraying the publick cause, and sacrificing it to the idol of his own ambition, that some of his last words were rather becoming a mediator than a sinner, recommending to God the condition of the nation that he had so infamously cheated, and expressing a great care of the people whom he had so manifestly despised. But he seemed, above all, concerned for the reproaches he said men would cast upon his name, in trampling on his ashes when dead. In this temper of mind he departed this life[b]."—I fancy Mr. Ludlow had in his eye the following expressions which Cromwell is said to have made use of in his sickness, in a prayer addressed to the Supreme Being. "Lord, although I am a miserable and wretched creature, I am in covenant with thee, through grace, and I may, I will come to thee for thy people, thou hast made me (though very unworthy) a mean instrument to do them some good, and thee service: and many of them have set too high a value upon mee, though others wish, and would be glad of my death; but Lord, however thou dost dispose of mee, continue and go on to do good for them. Give them consistency of judgment, one heart, and mutual love, and go on to deliver them, and with the work of reformation, and make the name of Christ glorious in the world. Teach those, who look too much upon thy instruments, to depend more upon thyself; pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are thy people too[c]."——This was all in character.——Two or three more of his expressions, when death was in his

[a] The expences of his funeral are said to have amounted to 60,000l.

[b] Ludlow, vol. II. p. 612.

[c] Collection of several passages concerning his late Highnesse, in the time of his sickness, by one that was groom of his bed-chamber. 4to. Lond. p. 12. 1659.

sible indignity. His character has been very differently[75] represented by different persons; though his memory was celebrated by the finest

view, will shew us in what temper he left the world. "Lord, thou knowest, if I do desire to live, it is to shew forth thy praise, and declare thy works[a]."——Again he said, "I would be willing to live to be further serviceable to God and his people, but my work is done, yet God will be with his people."——These sayings seem to evince the greatness of his mind; the main thing he had in view to have been the public good; and strongly confirm what is said to have been the avowed opinion of the most excellent Tillotson, "That at last Cromwell's enthusiasm got the better of his hypocrisy."——The night before his death, and not before, lord Fauconberg says, he declared his son Richard his successor, in presence of four or five of his council[b].

[75] His character has been very differently represented.] Mr. Thurloe, in a letter to H. Cromwell, the day after his father's decease, tells him, it "is not to be said, what affection the army and all people shew to his late Highness; his name is already precious. Never was there any man soe prayed for as he was duringe his sickness; solemne assemblies meetinge every day, to beseech the Lord for the continuance of his life; soe that he is gone to heaven, embalmed with the tears of his people, and upon the wings of the prayers of the saints. He lived desired, and dyed lamented, every body bemoaning themselves, and saying, a great man is fallen in Israel[c]." Lord Fauconberg styles him "the greatest personage and instrument of happiness, not only our own, but indeed any age else ever produced[d]." —"I do believe, says Mr. Maidstone, if his story were impartially transmitted, and the unprejudiced world well

[a] Collection of several passages concerning his late Highnesse, in the time of his sickness, by one that was groom of his bed-chamber. 4to. Lond. p. 6. 1659. See the quotation from Bates in note 6. [b] Thurloe, vol. VII. p. 375. [c] Id. p. 373. [d] Id. p. 375.

possest with it, she would add him to her nine worthies, and make up that number a Decemviri. He lived and died in comfortable communion with God, as judicious persons near him well observed. He was that Mordecai that sought the welfare of his people [a]."——These are high eulogiums from his friends, and, doubtless, proceeded from the affection and gratitude of those who uttered them. Mr. Voltaire styles Cromwell "an usurper worthy to reign [b];" and tells us, "he died in the midst of the projects he was forming to strengthen his own power, and increase the glory of his nation."——And "that he left behind him the reputation of a dextrous villain, an intrepid commander, a bloody usurper, and a sovereign that knew the art of governing [c]."——Mazarine, who had abjectly courted Cromwell during life, and received the law in almost all things from him, after his death, is said to have characterized him as "a fortunate fool [d]." Lord Clarendon does him less injustice, I am persuaded, most readers will think, when he describes him "as a brave wicked man." I will add no more but the following description of this extraordinary man, drawn by a celebrated and illustrious pen. "Europe," says he, "had granted the surname of Great to three sovereigns, who reigned almost at the same time, namely, Cromwell, Lewis XIV. and Frederick William. To Cromwell, for having sacrificed every civil duty to the desire of reigning; for having prostituted his talents, which, instead of being useful to his country, were subservient only to his ambition; for having concealed his impostures under the mask of fanaticism; for having enslaved his country under a pretence of fighting for her liberties; for becoming the executioner of his king, whom he sacrificed to his fury: to Cromwell, a bold, cunning, and ambitious man, but unjust, violent, and void of virtue; a man in fine, who had great qualities, but never a good one. Cromwell, therefore, did not deserve the surname of Great, which is due only to virtue; and it would be degrading Lewis XIV. and Frederick William, to com-

[a] Thurloe, vol. I. p. 766. [b] Age of Lewis XIV. vol. I. 12mo. p. 70
[c] Id. p. 77. [d] Vol. VI. p. 653.

pare them to such a rival[a]." What degradation it might be to Frederick-William to compare him with the protector, I pretend not to say: but, with all due submission, if Cromwell did not deserve the surname of Great, much less did Lewis XIV. What were the faults imputed to Cromwell? Dissimulation, hypocrisy, bringing Charles to the block, and ingratitude towards the long parliament.——Let these crimes be weighed in the nicest balance, they must be light as air when opposed to those of Lewis, who was an adulterer, who was not ashamed to confess that he waged war merely for his glory (disdaining so much as even to avow any reasonable pretence for overrunning Holland, and subjecting its inhabitants to innumerable woes) and wasted the finest country with fire and sword. Two cities and twenty-five towns in flames at one time, were a spectacle sufficient to imprint the worst ideas of the immortal Lewis and the godlike Turenne[b]. Where, but among barbarians, was such a scene ever exhibited?———Nor was this all—Lewis broke through all oaths and treaties, every thing sacred. Nothing, in a word, was ever equal to his villany. Witness his wars in Flanders, his breach of the Partition Treaty, and above all, his revocation of the edict of Nantz (at the instigation of priests) whereby thousands of his innocent subjects were ruined, his kingdom impoverished, and its manufactures carried abroad. Was there any thing in Cromwell's character to be compared with all this?——Cromwell, with all his faults, had many real virtues. Not so Lewis; he was a bigot; he was priest-ridden; superstitious; with little personal valour, and much vanity; who, but for his love and encouragement of the fine arts, would have been ranked with the Neros, the Caligulas, the Domitians, the tyrants and destroyers of mankind. He did not deserve then "the surname of Great, which is due only to virtue." The painting out such enemies of liberty and mankind in the finest colours, by the finest pens, is the greatest reproach of letters, and most dangerous to the interests of common humanity; and, what I hope, will justify the warmth of these reflections.

[a] Memoirs of Brandenburg, p. 152. [b] Voltaire's Age of Lewis XIV. vol. I. p. 154.

pens[76] of his age; and he left behind him a never-dying fame.

[76] His memory was celebrated by the finest [illegible] of his age.] The verses of Mr. Waller, Dryden and [illegible], afterwards bishop of Rochester, are well known. Besides these, I have now before me a pamphlet, intitled, "Musarum Cantabrigiensium Luctus & Gratulatio: Ille in Funere Oliveri Angliæ, Scotiæ & Hiberniæ Protectoris; Hæc de Ricardi successione felicissima ad eundem[a]." In the first copy of verses, by Tuckney, master of St. John's college, England is introduced speaking in the following strains:

Ergò Jaces, Dux magne? Jaces, Pater alme? nec ultrà
Permittis circùm victricia tempora laurum
Serpere? Pacificos an dedignaris honores?
At Populi miserescе tui, quibus ipse salutem
Impertire soles, & qui tua sceptra colebant
Obsequio affectúque pari. Sed Carmina nulla
Non exorandas potuerunt flectere Parcas.
Occidit Anglorum decus ingens, occidit, eheu!
Gentis Presidium! Quis me jam vindicet armis?
Quis poterit nimiùm dubiis succurrere rebus?
Sæpius illa Patrem, Patrem tristissima dixit,
Effuditque istas non exaudita querelas.

Dr. Whichcot celebrates his mild government and peaceful end in these lines:

Sobrius ausculta veterum quid pagina narrat.
Fata trahunt homines cruciatibus ingeniosos.
Decumbunt tremuli non siccâ morte Tyranni.
Arte suâ pereant semper (justissima Lex est)
Artifices nequàm, quos inclementia pulsat.
At Pater hic Patriæ non est tormenta minatus,
Annosúque expirat, & alta in pace quiescit.

Horton, Minshul, Seaman, celebrate his character in the highest terms, as did Worthington, Dillingham, Arrowsmith, and others. Dr. Cudworth has an Hebrew poem in this collection. There was also published on this occasion, "Beatis Manibus invictissimi Herois Olivarii Magni, magnæ Britanniæ Protectoris Parentatio, Scripta ab Equite Polono," which I have not seen[b].

[a] Cantabrigiæ: apud Johannem Field, Almæ Academiæ Typographum. 1658.
[b] Mercurius Politicus, No. 518. p. 141.

Thus was the fame of Cromwell sounded abroad; thus was he lamented on his decease. At the Restoration, indeed, his ashes were trampled on [a], and his memory was branded; but time, the great friend to truth, has, in some measure, cleared up his character, and done justice to his abilities; and, if he cannot be ranked amongst the best, he, undoubtedly, is to be placed amongst the greatest of princes.

[a] See Appendix.

APPENDIX

OF

ORIGINAL PAPERS.

Copy of a manuscript paper, written, it is probable, about the end of the year 1647, now, with many other original and valuable papers relating to the civil-wars, in the possession of Hans Wintrop Mortimer, Esq; of Lincoln's-Inn; which papers belonged formerly to col. Saunders of Derbyshire, colonel of a regiment of horse, &c.

THE freedome wee were borne to is so justly due to every Englishman, that whoever shall remember the vehemency wherewith the people did thirst after a parliament before they had this; the zeale wherewith they contributed to the late warre for defence of this freedome; and the success wherewith it hath pleased God to blesse those endeavours; will soone be satisfied, that there is no better cause in the world to engage upon: and therefore, the cause wee undertake at present, for which wee carry our lives in our hands, beinge the very same, will certaynly need no apology for itself, the only thinge that may seeme strange in these our actings, being the irregular manner of prosecuting our undoubted rights.

Herein wee desire it may be considered, That all ordinary means, and some extraordinary, have beene already attempted, and, after much patience, proved altogether fruitless:

That the parlament hath made noe other use of the many signal opportunities put into their hands, than to continue their sitting at Westminster, and dividing the public treasure amongst themselves:

That the chiefe officers of the army, (though pretending to keepe up the forces under them for the people's good, and to see the same accomplished in a short time) have yet made noe other use of their power, than to continue and enlarge their own commands:

That besides our being dissapointed of the fruit so long expected, and being made more slaves every day than other to committees,

and sundry other arbitrary courses; even in the most leg
ceedings wee find soe much corruption, tediousnesse, cha
nesse, and obscurity practised and abetted by officers of all
that the law itself is become noe protection to us in our pr
or liberties:

Wee find that barbarous course still maintained of impri
men for debt, thereby hindering them from the use of
lawful callings; though they have nothinge else wherewith t
their creditors, or to preserve themselves, and their famili
starvinge:

Wee find that the restraininge men's persons att pleasure, without cause rendered, and during pleasure, was never more frequent:

Wee find that tythes, whose beginninge was superstitious, and is found by experience to oppress the poor husbandman, and to be vexatious to all manner of people, and prejudicial to the commonwealth; were never soe rigorously and cruelly exacted as at present:

Wee find taxes to be multiplied without number, or hopes of end, and excise soe cruelly exacted, that noe man knows what is, or what shall be his owne; and although many millions of moneys hath been levied and payed, both voluntarily and by compulsion, yet noe accompt is given how they have beene expended; but the public debts are dayly encreased instead of beinge satisfied, and such vast sums of money payed dayly out of the public treasurie for interest unto some with usurers, as is almost incredible:

Wee find the trade of the nation (which the parlament promised at the first to advance) to be generally decayed, that without speedy remedy the nation cannot long subsist:

Wee find the poore to be wholly disreguarded and oppressed, and thousands of families suffered to beg their bread, and many to perish with hunger:

But herein our condition hath beene rendered most desperate, that wee have not beene suffered to represent our miseries to the parlament, and petition for redress; but persons have beene imprisoned for petitioning, and orders issued out from parlament to suppress petitions: Considering therefore this deplorable estate of the commonwealth, and the apparent danger of being imbroyled againe each in others blood, unless a speedy settlement prevent it; and considering not only, that wee have attempted all regular wayes to procure reliefe for our longe oppressed country, but also that wee cannot with safety any longer offer our grievances and desires to parlament in petitions; and likewise consideringe that our slavery under arbitrary power is occasioned by the want of a settlement of a just and equal government, which if it were established would speedily ease us of all our common burthens; wee cannot bethinke ourselves of a more probable remedy, than to put ourselves, and invite our countrymen to joine with us, in a posture of defence, whereby wee may be secure from danger, and from being prevented of our good intentions by the opposition of such as have designed our slavery, while wee propound to all our dear country-

men (who are sure to bee concerned in sufferinge as much as if they were in office) some certaine grounds of common right and freedome, wherein they and wee might see reason to agree amongst ourselves, and thereupon to establish a firme and present peace.

The particulars wee offer are as followeth.

1. That a period of time be set, wherein this present parlament shall certainly end.

2. That the people be equally proportioned for the choice of the deputies in all future parlaments; and that they doe of course meete upon a certaine day (once at least in two years) for that end.

3. That a contract be drawne and sealed betweene the people and their several deputies respectively, upon the day of the elections, wherein the bounds, limits, and extent of their trust shall be clearly expressed. As that they bee impowered with sufficient authoritie for executinge, alteringe and repealinge of lawes; for erectinge and abolishinge, judicatories; for appointinge, removing and callinge to account magistrates, and officers of all degrees; for makeinge warre and peace, and treating with sovereigne states. And that their power do not extend to the bindinge of any man in matters of religion, or in the way of God's worship; nor to compell the person of any innocent man to serve against his will either by sea or land; nor to the makinge of any law, that shall be either evidently pernicious to the people, or not equally obligatory unto all persons without exception.

4. That for the security of all parties, who have acted on any side in the late public differences since the year 1640, and for preventinge all contentions amongst them; the people may agree amongst themselves, that no future parlaments shall question or molest any person for any thinge sayed or done in reference to these public differences.

5. That the great officers of the nation, as well civil as military, be often removed, and others put into their room, either every yeare, or every second yeare at farthest; to the end the persons employed may discharge themselves with greater care, when they know themselves lyable to a speedy account, and that other men may be encouraged to deserve preferment when they see the present incumbents not affixed to their offices as to freeholds.

6. That all determinating committees (except such as are necessary to be kept up for the managing of forces by sea and land) the chancery, and all other arbitrary courts, be forthwith dissolved; or at least all power taken from them, which they have hitherto exercised over men's persons or estates: and henceforward, as well ordinances as acts of parlament be executed in the antient way of tryals by juries.

7. That the huge volumes of statute laws and ordinances, with the penalties therein imposed, as well corporal as pecuniary, be well revised; and such only left in force, as shall be found fit for the commonwealth; especially that men's lives be more precious than formerly, and that lesser punishment than death, and more

useful to the public, be found out for smaller offences: that all lawes, writs, commissions, pleadinges and records be in the English tongue; and that proceedinges be reduced to a more certaine charge, and a more expeditious way than formerly: That no fees at all be exacted of the people in courts of justice; but that the public ministers of state be wholly maintained out of the public treasury.

8. That estates of all kinds, real and personal, be made lyable to debts; but noe imprisonment at all by way of punishment, nor in order to makinge satisfaction, which possibly can never be made, but only by way of security in order to a tryal for some criminal fact, to be determined within some short and certaine space of time; and that this power of restraininge mens persons be very cautiously allowed, to which end the benefit of *Habeas Corpus* to be in noe case denied by those whom it concerns to grant them.

9. That tythes be wholly taken away, the parishoners from whom they are due paying in lieu thereof to the state where they are not appropriate, and to the owners where they are, moderate and certaine rent-charge out of their lands: the ministers to be maintained, either by the voluntary contribution of such as desire to hear them, or else by some settled pensions out of the public treasury.

10. That as speedy and as perfect an account as may be, be given and published for the satisfaction of the people how those vast sums of money have been disposed of, that have been disbursed, voluntarily and otherwise, since the beginning of these troubles.

11. That soe soone as public occasions will possibly permit, the imposition of excise, and all other taxes upon the people be wholly taken away, and that in the mean time all care and diligence be used in taking away those occasions, and in the husbandly managing of the public revenues; and to that end that a ballance be made and declared of all public revenues and expences, and that a course be taken for paying all public debts and damages, so far as may be, and that the debts upon interest be discharged by sale of such lands and goods as are eyther properly belonginge or any wayes accrued to the state, and that they be sold to the best advantage.

12. That there be no less care taken for the growing wealth of the nation, consistinge originally in trade, which being our strength and glory, ought by mitigating the customs, and by all other good meanes, to be cherished & promoted.

13. That (though restoring peace and commerce be the surest way of providinge for the poor) yet some more effectual course may be found out than hitherto hath beene for the settinge those to worke who are able, for bringinge up of children to profitable employments, and for relievinge such as are past their labor, especially such as became so in the service of their country duringe the late warre.

14. That the affairs of Ireland be taken into a more serious consideration than heretofore, and that a peaceable way for reducing that nation may be once endeavoured; and in case that succeed

not, the war to be prosecuted with vigour and unanimity, as by God's blessinge wee may promise to ourselves a speedy end of those troubles, a timely reliefe to many famishing families there, and better intend the affairs of England.

Now considering that the settlement of the nations peace and freedome, hath beene constantly declared by the parlament to be their only end in engaginge in this last warre; and considering the many promises solemn vowes and oathes made by them to the people, to confirme them in the belief of their sincere intentions therein, wee should hope to find no opposition from them in our desires. But however wee cannot but be confident, that the souldiery of the army (who solemnly engaged at Newmarket in June last [June 5, 1647] to procure the same things in effect for the people, which are here propounded,) will so remember that solemn engagement as to shew their ready concurrence with us; and wee hope it will be clear to them, that there is noe other possible way to provide that sufficient indemnity (the want whereof first occasioned their refusal to disband) than what is here propounded; neither that there is any probable way to secure the arrears of the supernumeraries, (who are disbanded contrary to the solemn engagement) or of those continuing in armes. And at least wee cannot but promise ourselves the assistance of all the commons, who are not blinded by some self-interest, or engaged to continue the present consuming distractions by virtue of some asset or employment dependinge thereon.

But however wee intending wrong to noe man, nor any private advantage to ourselves, and the cause for which we appear beinge soe clearly just, wee repose our confidence in the most high God, to protect us from the malice and rage, both of all selfseekinge ambitious men, who affect lordlinesse and tiranny, and have designed the people's slavery, and a perpetuation of their own rule, and of all such mercenary vassals as they shall hire to destroy us, and keepe the yoke of slavery upon the people's necks. And wee doe hereby promise and engage to all our countrymen, that whensoever the settlement of the peace and freedome herein propounded shall be effected (all delayes wherein wee shall to our utmost possibilities prevent) wee shall gladly and chearfully return to our private habitations, and callings, enjoying only our equal share of freedome with all others in the nation.

Copy of a letter[a] from O. Cromwell to (then) major Saunders of Derbyshire, dated June 17, 1648; superscribed "For your selfe;" and endorsed in major Saunders's hand writing as followeth, "The L. generalls order for takeing Sir Trevor Williams, and Mr. Morgan, sheriffe of Monmouthshire."

SIR,

I send you this enclosed by it selfe, because it's of greater mo-

[a] In the hands of Hans Wintrop Mortimer, Esq;

ment. The other you may communicate to Mr. Rumsey as far as you thinke fitt, and I have written. I would not have him or other honest men bee discouraged that I thinke itt not fitt at present to enter into contests, itt will be good to yeeild a little for publicke advantage, and truly that is my end, wherein I desire you to satisfie them.

I have sent as my letter mentions, to have you remove out of Brecknoksheire, indeed into that part of Glamorganshire w^ch^ lyeth next Munmouthsheire, for this end.

Wee have plaine discoveries that Sir Trevor Williams of Langevie about two miles from Uske in the countye of Munmouth was very deepe in the plott of betrayinge Chepstowe castle, soe that wee are out of doubt of his guiltynesse thereof.

I doe hereby authorize you to seize him, as also the high sheriffe of Munmouth Mr. Morgan, whoe was in the same plott.

But because Sir Trevor Williams is the more dangerous man by farr, I would have you to seize him first, and the other will easilye bee had. To the end you may not be frustrated, and that you bee not deceaved, I thinke fitt to give you some caracters of the man, and some intimations how things stand. Hee is a man (as I am informed) full of craft and subtiltye, very bould and resolute, hath a house at Langevie well stored with armes, and very stronge, his neighbours about him very malignant and much for him, whoe are apt to rescue him if apprehended, much more to discover any thinge w^ch^ may prevent itt. Hee is full of iealosie, partly out of guilt, but much more because hee doubts some that were in the businesse have discovered him, which indeed they have, and alsoe because hee knows that his servant is brought hither, and a minister to bee examined here, whoe are able to discover the whole plott. Iff you should march directly into that countye and neere him, itts ods hee either fortefyes his house, or gives you the slip, soe alsoe if you should goe to his house and not finde him there, or if you attempt to take him and misse to effect itt, or if you make any knowen enquirye after him, itt wil be discovered.

Wherefore to the first you have a faire pretence of goeinge out of Brecknock sheire to quarter about Newport and Carleon, which is not above 4 or 5 miles from his house. You may send to col. Herbert, whose house lyeth in Munmouthsheire, whoe will certenly acquaint you where hee is. You are alsoe to send to capt. Nicolas, whoe is at Chepstowe, to require him to assist you if hee should gett into his house, and stand upon his guard. Sam. Jones, whoe is quarterm^r^ to col. Herbert's troupe, wil be very assistinge to you if you send to him to meete you att your quarters; both by lettinge you know where hee is, and alsoe in all matters of intelligence. If theire shal be neede capt. Burge his troupe now quarteringe in Glamorganshire shal be directed to receave orders from you. You perceave by all this, that wee are (it may bee) a little too much sollicitous in this businesse, it's our fault, and indeed such a temper causeth us often to overact businesse, wherefore without more

adoe wee leave itt to you, and you to the guidance of God herein, and rest

June 17, 1648. Yours O. CROMWELL.

If you seize him bring & lett him bee brought with a stronge guard to mee. If capt. Nicolas should light on him at Chepstowe, doe you strengthen him with a good guard to bring him.

If you seize his person; disarme his house, but lett not his armes bee imbeziled.

If you need capt. Burge his troupe; it quarters betweene Newport and Cardiffe.

Cromwell went into Wales the beginning of May, 1648; Chepstow Castle was surprized for the King about the same time, but retaken the 25th. It does not appear whether Sir Trevor Williams was secured, or not.

The six following letters are in the possession of Theodosius Forrest, Esq; of George-street, Yorke-Buildings, London.

DEEREST ROBIN,

Nowe (blessed bee God) I can write, and thou receave, freely. I never in my life sawe more deepe sense, and lesse will to shewe itt unchristianly, then in that, w^ch^ thou diddest write to us when wee were at Windsor, and thou in the middest of thy tentation, w^ch^ indeed (by what wee understood of itt) was a great one, and occasioned the greater, by the letter the generall sent thee, of w^ch^ thou wast not mistaken, when thou didest challenge mee to bee the pener. How good has God beene to dispose all to mercy, and although itt was trouble for the present, yett glory is come out of itt, for w^ch^ wee prayse the Lord with thee, and for thee, and truly thy carriage has biene such, as occasions much honor to the name of God, and too religion, Goe onn in the strength of the Lord, and the Lord bee still with thee. But (deere Robin) this businesse hath beene (I trust) a mightye providence to this poore kingdome, and too us all. The house of comons is very sensible of the Kg^s^ dealinges, and of our brethrens, in this late transaction, You should doe well (if you have any thing that may discover inglinge) to search itt out and lett us knowe itt, itt may bee of admirable use at this tyme, because wee shall (I hope) instantly goe upon businesses in relation to them, tendinge to prevent danger. The house of comons has this day voted as follows. First that they will make noe more addresses to the K. 2. None shall applye to him w^th^out leave of the two houses upon paine of beinge guilty of high treason. 3dly, They will receave nothinge from the Kinge, nor shall any other bringe any thinge to them from * him, nor receave any

*. It is believed him is the word, though there is some doubt of it.

thinge from the Kinge. Lastly the members of both houses, whoe were of the committee of both kingdoms, are established in all that power in themselves for England, and Ireland, w^ch^ they had to act with both kingdoms, and Sr. John Evelin of Wilts is added in the roome of Mr. Recorder, and Rath. F. Fienis in the roome of Sir Phillip Stapleton, and my Lord of Kent, in the roome of the Earl of Essex. I thinke it good you take notice of this, the sooner the better.

Lett us knowe howe its with you in point of strength, and what you neede from us, some of us thinke the Kinge well with you, and that itt concernes us to keepe that island in great securitye, because of the French, et. And if soe, where can the Kinge bee better. If you have more force you will suer of full provision for them. The Lord blesse thee, pray for

Thy deere friend and servant

My L^d^ Wharton's Jan. 3d. neere tenn at night, 1647. O. CROMWELL.

For Col. Robert Hamond Governor of the isle of Wight theise

For the service of the kingdom hast post hast.

OLIVER CROMWELL.

SIR,

Wee have received yo^r^ letter of the 28th instant, wherein you desire to have the approbation of this committee concerning the fower gentlemen by you appointed to watch in their courses at the Kinges chamber dore, Wee thinke it fitt that in this businesse you should make your application to the houses, from whom wee doubt not you will receive orders in that particular. For the money appointed for the fortification of the castle it was to be furnished by the committee of the army by the appointm^t^ of this committe w^ch^ accordingly they presently did, & desired them to send thither with all speed, and of this, informacon hath beene given to the gentleman you mention, who sollicits yo^r^ businesse w^ch^ is all that can be done at this committee for it.

Derby House 31°. January 1647. Signed in the name & by the warrant of the committee at Derby House by your affectionate friend

W. SAY & SEALE.

To Colonel Robert Hammond Governour of the isle of Wight These are

SR.

You see by these inclosed votes how great a burthen the parliam^t^ hath laid uppon mee. I doe hereby send to you, That you would instantlie send mee a list of such as are att present about the Kinge who

are psons fitt to be confided in, if you have any in the island worthy of that trust, I would desire you to send their names also in the same list: and if you cannot fill upp the number of thirtie with you, which I should be glad you could, then I desire you to send mee the qualitie of those that will be wanting, that soe they may be supplyed from hence: It will be necessarie, That you hasten this businesse seeing the parliam^t expects a speedy & effectuall observance of their command herein. I propose soe soone as I have received yo^r list to make the number uppe, and lay it before the parliam^t to receive their approbation and allowance for my indempnitie; you see by the votes, That the number of thirtie (of all sortes) gentlemen and their servants, cookes, butlers, *etc.* may not bee exceeded, and therefore itt will bee fitt, That a respect bee had to all occasions and necessities of the household; wishing you all successe in yo^r great trust and charge:

I rest: Yo^r assured friend

Queenstreete. 5°. Februarij 1647. T. FAIRFAX.

For Colonell Robert Hamond Governo^r of the isle of Wight.

SR.

Wee have received informacon that there are now *some desynes in agitation concerning the Kings escape, who is to be carried into France*; and that *there* are two of those y^t now *atend the King upon* whom *they rely for efecting this escape.* Who *they are we cannot* discover, nor *yet what grounds they have to expect their* service *in it.* Yet wee thought fitt to give you this advertizement that you might the more carefully watch against it.

Darbie House 13°. Martij 1647.

Signed in the name & by y^e warrant of the com^ttee at Derby House by yo^r very loveing ffriend

NORTHUMBERLAND.

Note, all those parts that are in *Italic,* are in cypher in the original, and were decyphered by Col. *Hammond.*

SWEETE ROBIN,

Our relation is so nigh upon the best accompt, that nothing can concerne you or us, but wee believe they are of a mutual concernm^t. And therefore wee hold ourselves much obliged to transmitt you this inclosed (coming from a sure hand to us) not onely as relating to yours or o^r particular, but likewise as a matter of vast importance to the publick.

Itt hath pleased God (and wee are perswaded in much mercy) even miraculously to dispose the hearts of yo^r freinds in the army, as one man (together with the concurrence of the godly from all

parts) to interpose in this treatie, yet in such wise both for matter & manner, as, we believe, will not onely refresh the bowells of the saints, and all other faithful people of this kingdome, But bee of satisfaction to every honest member of parliam^t when tendred to them and made publick w^ch wil bee w^thin a very few daies; and considering of what a consequence the escape of the King from you (in the interim) maie proove, Wee hast this dispatch to yow together w^th o^r most earnest request, That (as yow tender the interest of this nation, of God's people, or of anie morall men: or as you tender the ending of England's troubles, or desire the justice & righteousness maie take place) you would see to the securing of that person from escape, whether by retorning of him to the castle, or such other waie as in thy wisdom and honesty shall seeme meetest. Wee are confident you will receive in few daies a duplicate of this desire, & an assurance from the generall & army to stand by you in itt: and in the meane time for o^r parts (though itt maie not be very considerable to yow) wee doe hereby ingage to owne yow with o^r lives & fortunes therein, w^ch wee should not soe forwardly expresse, but that wee are impelled to the prēmises in dutie & conscience to God and man. The Lord (yo^rs & o^r God) bee your wisdome and in all things, however wee have done or duty & witnessed the affections of Deare Hamond

Windsor. 14^th 9ber 1648.

Yo^r most intire, & faithfull brethren, friends, & servants.

H. IRETON.
T. HARRISON.
JOHN DISBROWE.
* E. GROSVENER.

SIR,

Since our last wee have received againe advertisem^t from a good hand that the designe holdes for the King's escape; and to escape all suspicion from you, he intends to walke out on foote a mile or two, as usually in the day time, & three horses are layd in the isle to carry him to a boate. If he cannot do this, then either over the house in the night, or at some privat window in the night he intends his passage; which wee thought fitt againe to give you

* Grosvener I believe to be the name, thoſgh there is some doubt. What renders it more probable is, that there was a colonel Edward Grosvenor, quarter master of the army, chosen member of parliament for Westminster, in 1656, and again in Richard's parliament, January 27, 1658, O. S. See Wood's Fasti, vol. ii. c. 79. and Mercurius Politicus, No. 550. p. 176.

In " A narrative of the late parliament (so called) begun at Westminster September 17, 1656, &c. with an account of the places of profit, salleries and advantages which they hold and receive under the present power," &c. appears, " Collonel Grosvenor, as quarter-master general, 419l. 10s. 0d. per annum, and it's said hath captain of horse pay; and the better to carry it in the choice at Westminster, the soldiers were bid pull off their red coats and put on others, and to give their votes for him, which is contrary to the eighteenth article of the old decayed instrument of government, which allows none that is not worth 200l. to ohoose parliament men."

notice of, that you may make such use of it for prevention, as you shall see cause.

Darby House 18 Novemb. 1648.

Signed in the name & by the warrant of the committee of lords & commons at Darby House, by

Your very affectionate friend

P. S. Wee desire you to communicate this to the commissⁿ there; and also if you shall finde the Kinge hath escaped to give us notice with all possible speed.

SALISBURY.

For Collonel Robert Hammond Governo^r of the isle of Wight.

The three following letters are in the possession of Robert Symmer, Esq; of Mount Street, Grosvenor Square.

DEERE NORTON,

I have sent my sonn over to thee, beinge willinge to answere providence, and although I confesse I have had an offer of a very great proposition from a father of his daughter, yett truly I rather encline to this in my thoughts, because though the other bee very farr greater, yett I see different tyes, and not that assurance of godlynesse, yett indeed fairness. I confesse that which is tould mee concerning estate of Mr. M. is more then I can looke for as thinges now stand.

If God please to bring itt about, the consideration of pietye in the parents, and such hopes of the gentlewoeman in that respect, make the businesse to mee a great mercy, concerninge w^ch I desier to waite upon God.

I am confident of thy love, and desier thinges may be carried with privacie. The Lord doe his will, thats best, to w^ch submittinge I rest your humble servant,

Feb. 25, 1647. O. CROMWELL.

For my noble friend Col. Richard Norton, theise.

DEERE DICK,

Itt had beene a favour indeed to have mett you heere at Farnham, but I heere you are a man of great businesse.——Therefore I say noe more, if it be a favor to the house of commons to enioy you, what is itt to mee? But in good earnest when wi . . . you and your brother Russel be a lit . . . . honest and attend your charge suerly so . . [some] expect itt, especially the good fellowes wh . . . chose you.

I have mett w^th M^r Maior, wee spent two or 3 howers together last night. I perceave the gentleman is very wise and honest, and

indeed much to be vallewed, some thinges of comon fame did a little sticke, I glad . . . . heard his doubts, and gave such answare as was next att hand, I beleive to some satisfaction, never the lesse I exceedingly liked the gentlemans plainnesse, and free dealinge w^th^ mee. I knowe God has beene above all ill reports, and will in his owne tyme vindicate mee, I have noe cause to cumplaine. I see nothinge but that this particular businesse betweene him and mee may go onn, The Lords will be donn. For newes out of the north there is little, only the Mal. partye is prevailinge in the par^lat^ of S. They are earnest for a warr, the ministers oppose, as yett.

Mr. Marshall is returned, whoe sayis soe. And soe doe many of our letters, their great committee of dangers have 2 malig. for one right. Its sayd they have voted an armie of 40000 in par^lmt^ soe some of yesterdayes letters, but I account my newes ill bestowed, because upon an idle person.

I shall take speedy course in the business concerninge my tenants, for w^ch^ thankes, my service to your lady, I am really

Your affectionate servant

March 28, 1648. O. CROMWELL.

Farnham.

For my noble friend Col. Richard
Norton, theise.

DEERE NORTON,

I could not in my last give you a perfect account of what passed betweene mee and Mr. M. because wee were to have a conclusion of our speed that morninge after I wrote my letter to you, which wee had, and havinge had a full enterview of one anothers mindes, wee parted with this, that both would consider with our relations, and accordinge to satisfactions given there, acquaint each other with our mindes.

I cannot tell how better to doe itt, to receave or give satisfaction then by you, whoe (as I remember) in your last, sayd that if thinges *did stick betweene us*, you would use your endeavor towards a close.

The thinges insisted upon were theise, (as I take itt) Mr. Maior desired *400 p. annum* of inheritance lyinge in Cambridge sheire, and Norfolke, to bee præsently settled, and to be for maintenance, wherein I desired to bee advised by my wife.

I offered the land in Hampshire, for present maintenance, w^ch^ I dare say with copses and ordinarie fells will be *communibus annis* 500^li^ *p. annum*, besides 500^li^ *per annum*, in tennants handes houldinge but for one life, and about 200^li^ *p. ann.* some for two lives, some for three lives. But as to this if the latter bee not liked off I shall bee willing a farther conference bee had in the first.

In point of jouncture I shall give satisfaction. And as to the settlement of landes given mee by the par^t^ satisfaction to be given in like manner, accordinge as wee discoursed.

In what else was demanded of mee I am willing (soe farr as I remember any demand was) to give satisfaction.

Only I havinge beene enformed by Mr. Robinson that Mr. Maior

did upon a former match offer to settle the mannor wherein hee lived, and to give 2000ll in monie, I did insist upon that, and doe desire itt may not bee with difficultye, the monie I shall neede for my two little wenches, and therby I shall free my sonn from beinge charged with' them. Mr. Maior parts wch nothing in præsent but that monie, savinge their -board, wch I shoulde not bee unwillinge to give them to enioy the comfort of their societye, wch itts reason hee smarte for, if hee will robb mee altogether of them. Truly the land to bee settled both what the parlmt gives mee, and my owne, is very little lesse then 3000ll *per annum* all thinges considered, if I bee rightly informed. And a lawyer of Lincoln's Inn haveinge searched all the marques of Worcester's writinges, wch were taken at Ragland and sent for by the parlmt and this gentleman appointed by the committee to search the sayd writinges, assures mee, there is noe scruple concerninge the title, and itt soe fell out that this gentleman whoe searched was my owne lawyer, a very godly able man, and my deere friend, wch I reckon noe smale mercy, hee is also possest of the writinges for mee.

I thought fitt to give you this account, desiringe you to make such use of itt as God shall direct you, and I doubt not but you will doe the part of a friend betweene two friendes, I account myselfe one, and I have heard you say Mr. Maior was entirely soe to you. What the good pleasure of God is I shall waite, there is only rest, præsent my service to your lady, to Mr. Maior, et.

I rest

April the 3d 1648. Your affectionate servant,

O. CROMWELL.

I desier you to carrie this business with all privacie, I beseech you to doe soe as you love mee, lett me entreat you not to loose a day herein, that I may knowe Mr. Maior's minde for I thinke I may be att leizure for a weeke to attende this businesse to give and take satisfaction, from wch perhaps I may bee shutt up afterwards by imployment I know thou art an *idle fellowe, but prethee* neglect mee not now, delay may bee very inconvenient to mee, I much rely upon you. Lett me here from you in two or 3 days. I confesse the principall consideration as to mee is the absolute settlement of the mannor where he lives, wch he would doe but conditionally in case he prove to have noe sonn, and but 3000ll in case he have a sonn. But as to this I hope farther reason may work him to more.

N. B. In a sheet list "of the names of the members yet living of both houses of parliament forceably secluded by the army in 1648, &c." appears Southampton, col. Richard Norton, Esq; Knight, &c. [a] He was chosen Knight of the Shire for Southampton, in the room of Sir Henry Wallop, Knt. who deceased in 1644, in virtue of writs issued Oct. 24, and Nov. 10, 1645.

[a] Parliamentary History, vol. IX. p. 40.

In another list intitled "A more exact and necessary catalogue of pensioners in the long parliament than is extant," appears Richard Norton, colonel, governor of Southampton.

And in a third intitled "A perfect list of the lords of the other house, and of the knights, citizens and burgesses, and barons of the Cinque Ports, now assembled in this present parliament holden at Westminster, for the commonwealth of England, Scotland and Ireland, Jan. 27, 1658," appears county of Southampton, Richard Norton of Southwicke, Esq[r].

Sir Gregory Norton, one of Charles I. judges, was of Sussex or Kent, and, as I apprehend, of a different family from the colonel.

The following seventeen letters were transcribed from the originals which were found at Pusey, the seat of the Dunches, in Berkshire*, by the hon. Horace Walpole, Esq;

For my very lovinge Friend Mr. Robinson, Preacher at Southampton. Theise.

SR.

I thanke you for your kinde letter, as to the businesse you mention I desire to use this playennesse with you. When the last overture was betweene mee and Mr. Major, by the mediation of coll. Norton, after the meetinge I had with Mr. Major att Farnham, I desired the coll. (findinge as I thought some scruples and hesitation in Mr. Major) to knowe of him whether his minde was free to the thinge or not. Coll. Norton gave me this account, that Mr. Major, by reason of some matters as they then stood, was not very free thereunto, whereupon I did acquiesce submittinge to the providence of God. Upon your revivinge of the businesse to mee, & your letter, I thinke fitt to returne you this answare, & to say in plainnesse of spirit to you, That upon your testimonie of the gentlewoeman's worth & the common report of the pyetye of the familye I shall be willinge to entertayne the renewinge of the motion upon such considerations as may bee to mutuall satisfaction, only I thinke that a speedyè resolution will be very convenient to both partes. The Lord direct all to his glory. I desier your prayers therein, and rest

Your very affectionate friend,

Feb. 1[st] 1648. O. CROMWELL.

For my very worthye Friend Richard Major, Esq; Theise.

SR.

I receaved some intimations formerly & by the last returne from Southampton a letter from Mr. Robinson concernynge the reviveinge

* John Dunch of Pusey, in Berks, son of Sam. Dunch of North Baddisley in Hampshire, Esq; married Anne, daughter and coheiress of Richard Major, of Hursley, Esq;—Wood's Fasti, vol. ii. c. 120.

the last yeare's motion touchinge my sonne & your daughter. Mr. Robinson was alsoe pleased to send inclosed in his a letter from you to him, bearing date the 5th of this instant February, wherin I finde your willingenesse to entertaine any good meanes for the compleatinge of that businesse. From whence I take encouragment to send my sonn to wayte upon you & by him to lett you knowe that my desires are (if providence soe dispose) very full & free to the thinge, if upon an enterview theire prove alsoe a freedom in the younge persons thereunto. What liberty you will give heerein I wholly submit to you. I thought fitt in my letter to Mr. Robinson to mention somewhat of expedition, because indeed I knowe not how soone I may be called into the feild, or other occasions may remove mee from hence, havinge for the present some liberty of stay in London. The Lord direct all to his glorye. I rest

S^r^

Feb. 12th 1648. Y^r^ very humble servant,

O. CROMWELL.

For my very worthye Friend Richard Major, Esq; Theise.

SR.

I receaved yours by Mr. Stapleton together with an account of the kinde reception & the many civilityes afforded them, especilly to my sonn in the libertye given him to waite upon your worthye daughter, the report of whose vertue and godlynesse has soe great a place in my hart that I thinke fitt not to neglect any thinge on my part which may conduce to consummate a close of the businesse, if God please to dispose the younge ones harts thereunto & other suiteable orderinge affaires towards mutuall satisfaction appeare in the dispensation of providence, for which purpose and to the end matters may be brought to as neere an issue as they are capable off (not beinge at libertye by reason of publicke occasions to waite upon you, nor, as I understand your health permittinge) I thought fitt to send this gentleman Mr. Stapleton instructed with my minde to see how neere wee may come to an understandinge one of another therein, & although I could have wished the consideration of thinges had beene betweene us two itt beinge of so neere concernmente, yet providence for the present not allowinge, I desier you to give him credence on my behalfe. S^r^ all thinges which yourselfe & I had in conference att Farnham doe not occurr to my memorie thorough multiplicitye of businesse interveninge, I hope I shall with a very free hart testifie my readynesse to that which may bee expected from mee. I have noe more at present but desiringe the Lord to order this affair to his glory & the comfort of his servants. I rest

S^r^

Feb. 26, 1648. Your humble servant

O. CROMWELL.

(No Direction.) (In another hand but signed by himself.)

SR.

Yours I have rcciеved, & have given further instructions to this bearer Mr. Stapylton to treate with you about the businesse in agitation betweene your daughter and my sonne. I am ingag'd to you for all your civility's, & respects already manifested. I trust there will bee a right understanding betweene us and a good conclusion; and though I cannot particularly remember the thinges spoken off at Farnham, to which your letter seemes to referre mee; yet I doubt not but I have sent the offer of such thinges now, which will give mutuall satisfaction to us both. My attendance upon publique affairs will not give mee leave to come downe unto you myselfe; I have sent unto you this gentleman with my mind. I salute M^rs^ Major, though unknowne, with the rest of your family. I commit you, with the progresse of the businesse to the Lord; and rest

S^r^

March the 8^th^ 1648. Your assured friend to serve you
O. CROMWELL.

(No Direction, but wrote on the Back, L. G. Cromwell's Letter of Exceptions——)

SR.

I receaved your paper by the handes of M^r^ Stapilton. I desier your leave to returne my dissatisfaction therewith. I shall not neede to premise how much I have desired (I hope upon the best groundes) to match with you, the same desier still continuees in me, if providence see itt fitt. But I may not be soe much wantinge to myselfe nor familye as not to have some equallitye of consideration towards itt. I have two younge daughters to bestowe if God give them life, & oportunitye. Accordinge to your offer I have nothinge for them, nothing at all in hand, if my sonne dye, what consideration is there to me? And yet a jouncture parted, with, if shee dye there is little, if you have an heire male then but 3000*£*. without tyme assertained. But for theise thinges I doubt not but one enterview betweene you & my selfe they might bee accommodated to mutual satisfaction, and in relation to theise I thinke wee should hardly part, or have many wordes, soe much doe I desier a cloasure with you. But to deale freely with you, the settlinge of the mannor of Hursley as you propose itt stickes soe much with mee that either I understand you not, or else it much fayles my expectation. As you offer itt there is 400*£*. *pr. annum* charged upon itt. For the 150*£*. to your lady for her life as a jouncture I stick not att that, but the 250*£*. *pr. annum* untill Mr. Ludlowe's lease expiers the teanure whereof I knowe not, & soe much of the 250*£*. *pr. annum* as exceeds that lease in anual valew for some tyme alsoe after the expiration of the s^d^ lease, gives such a maime to the mannor of Hursley as indeed renders the rest of the manor very inconsiderable. Sr. if I concurr to denye myselfe in point of present monies as alsoe in the other thinges mentioned as aforesaid, I may and I doe expect

the mannor of Hursley to bee settled without any charge unto it after your decease savinge your ladyes jouncture of 150*£. per annum*, which if you should thinke fitt to encrease I should not stand upon itt: your own estate is best known to you, but suerlye your personall estate beinge free for you to dispose, will with some small matter of addition begitt a neerenesse of equallitye, if I here well from others, & if the difference in that were not very considerable I should not insist upon itt. What you demand of me is very much in all pointes, I am willinge to settle as you desier in every thinge savinge for present maintenance 400*£. p. annum*, 300*£. p. ann.* I would have somewhat free to be thanked by them for, The 300 *£. p. annum* of my ould land for a jouncture after my wives decease. I shall settle, and in the meane tyme out of other landes att your election, & trulye Sr. if that bee not good nor will any landes I doubt, I doe not much distrust your principles in other thinges have acted you towards confidence. You demand in case my sonn have none issue male but only daughters, then the lands in Hantsheire, Monmouth and Gloucestersheire to descend to the daughters, or 3000*£.* a peice; the first woud most unequall, the latter is too high, they will be well provided for by beinge inheritrixes to their mother, & I am willinge to 2000*£.* a peice to bee charged upon those landes.

Sr. I cannot but with very many thankes acknowledge your good opinion of mee & of my sonn, as alsoe your great civilities towards him & your daughter's good respects (whose goodnesse though known to mee only at such a distance by the report of others) I much valew, & indeed that causeth mee soe cheerfully to denye myselfe as I doe in the point of monies, & soe willingly to complye in other thinges, but if I should not insist as before, I should in a greater measure denye both my owne reason & the advise of my freindes then were meete which I may not doe. Indeed Sr. I have not cloased with a farr greater offer of estate, but rather chose to fix heere, I hope I have not beene wantinge to providence in this, I have made myselfe plaine to you, desiring you will make my sonn the messinger of your pleasure & resolution herein as speedilye as with conveniency you may. I take leave & rest

Your affectionate servant

I desier my service may be presented to your lady & daughters. O. CROMWELL.

March 14, 1648.

For my worthy Friend Richard Major, Esq; at Hursley. Theise.

SR.

You will pardon the brevitye of theise lines, the haste I am in by reason of businesses occasions it. To testifye the earnest desier I have to see a happy period to this treatye betweene us, I give you to understand that I agree to 150 *£. pr. annum* out of the 300 *£. pr. annum* of my ould land, for your daughters jouncture over the 150*£.* where you please.

400£. *p. annum*, for present maintenance where you shall choose either in Hantshire, Gloucester or Monmouthsheire.

Those lands settled upon my son & his heires males by your daughter, & in case of daughters only 2000£. a peice charged upon those landes.

400£. *p. annum* free to raise portions for my two daughters. I expect the mannor of Hursley to be setled upon your eldest daughter & her heires, the heires of her body.

Your lady a joincture of 150£. *p. annum* out of itt.

For compensation to your younger daughter I agree to leave itt in your power after your deccease to charge it with as much as will buye inn the lease of the Ferme at Allington by a just computation.

I expect soe long as they live with you their diet as you expressed, or in case of voluntarie partinge 150£. *p. annum*, 3000£. in case you have a sonn to bee payed in two yeares next followinge.

In case your daughter die without issue 1000£. within six months. Sr. if this satisfie I desier a speedye resolution, I should the rather desier soe because of what your kinsman can satisfie you in. The Lord blesse you & your familye to whome I desier my affections and service may bee presented. I rest

March 25th 1649. Your humble servant

O. CROMWELL.

For my esteemed good Friend Richard Major, Esq; Theise at Hursley.

SR.

I receaved yours of the 28th instant. I desier the matter of compensation may bee as in my last to you, you propose another way, which trulye seemes to mee very inconvenient, I have agreed to all other thinges as you take mee (& that rightly) repeating particulars in your paper. The Lord dispose this great businesse (greate betweene you & mee) for good. You mention to send by the post on Tuseday. I shall speede thinges heere as I may, I am designed for Ireland, which wil be speedye. I should bee very glad to see thinges setled before I goe, if the Lord will. My service to all your familye. I rest

Sr.

March 30th 1649. Your affectionate

(Name torn off.)

For my worthy Friend Richard Major, Esq; at Hursley. Theise.

SR.

I receaved your papers inclosed in your letter although I knowe not howe to make soe good use of them as otherwise might have beene to have saved expence of tyme if the arrest of your lawyer had not fallen out at this tyme. I conceave a draught to your satisfaction by your owne lawyer would have saved much tyme, which

to mee is precious. I hope you will send some up perfectlye instructed. I shall endeavour to speed what is to be donn on my part, not knowing how soone I may bee sent downe towards my charge for Ireland. And I hope to perform punctually with you. Sr. my sonn had a great desier to come downe & waite upon your daughter. I perceave hee minds that more then to attend businesses heere. I should bee glad to see him settled and al thinges finished before I goe. I trust not to bee wantinge therein. The Lord direct all our hartes into his good pleasure. I rest

Sr.

My service to your lady & family. Your affectionate servant
O. CROMWELL.

April 6, 1649.

For my worthye Friend Richard Major, Esq; Theise.

SR.

Your kindsman Mr. Barton and myselfe repayringe to our councell for the perfectinge this businesse soe much concerninge us, did upon Saturday this 15th of Aprill drawe our councell to a meetinge whereupon consideration had of my letter to yourselfe expressinge my consent to perticulars which Mr. Barton brought to your councell, Mr. Hales of Lincolnes Inn; upon the readinge that which expresseth the way of your setlinge Hursley, your kindsman expressed a sence of yours contrarie to the paper under my hand as alsoe to that under your hand of the 28th of March which was the same with mine, as to that perticular, and I knowe nothinge of doubt in that which I am to doe but doe agree itt all to your kindsman his satisfaction. nor is there much materiall difference save in this, wherein both my paper sent by you to your councell and yours of the 28th doe in all litterall and all equitable construction agree, *viz.* to settle an estate in fee simple upon your daughter after your decease, which Mr. Barton affirmes not to be your meaninge, although hee has not (as to mee) formerlye made this any objection nor can the words beare itt, nor have I any thinge more considerable in lewe of what I part with then this. And I have appealed to yours or any counsel in England whether it bee not just and equal that I insist thereupon. And this misunderstandinge (if it bee yours as it is your kindsman's) putt a stop to the businesse, so that our counsel could not proceede uhtill your pleasure herein were known, wherefore itt was thought fitt to desier Mr. Barton to have recourse to you to knowe your minde, hee alledginge hee had noe authoritye to understand that expression soe, but the contrarie, which was thought not a little strange even by your owne councell. I confesse I did apprehend wee should bee incident to mistakes treatinge att such a distance, although I may take the boldnesse to say there is nothinge expected from mee, but I agree itt to your kindsman's sense to a tittle. Sr. I desired to knowe what commission your kindsman had to helpe this doubt by an expedient who denied to have any, but did

think it were better for you to part with some monie, and keepe the power in your owne handes, as to the land, to dispose thereof as you should see cause, whereupon an overture was made and himselfe & your councell desired to drawe itt up; the effect whereof this enclosed paper conteynes, and although I should not like change of agreements, yet to shew how much I desier the perfecting of this businesse, if you like thereof (though this bee farr the worse bargaine, I shall submit thereunto your councell thinkinge that thinges may bee settled this way with more clearnesse & lesse intricasie. There is mention made of 900*£. pr. annum* to bee reserved, but itt comes to but about 800*£.* my landes in Glamorgan sheire being but little above 400*£. pr. annum* and the 400*£. p. annum* out my manour in Gloucester & Munmouth sheire. I wish a cleere understandinge may bee betweene us. Truly I would not willinglye mistake, desiringe to wait upon providence in this businesse. I rest

Sr.

Ap. 15th 1649. Your affectionate friend & servant

I desier my service may bee presented to your lady & daughters. O. CROMWELL.

For my very loving Brother Richard Major, Esq;
att Hurslye. Theise.

(Recd. 27 July, 1649, p. Messenger
LOVINGE BROTHER, expresse from Newbery.)

I receaved your letter by major Longe, and doe in answare thereunto accordinge to my best understandinge, with a due consideration of those gentlemen whoe have abid the brunt of the service. I am very glad to heere of your welfare, & that our children have so good leisure to make a journie to eate cherries, it's very excuseable in my daughter, I hope she may have a very good pretence for it. I assure you Sr. I wish her very well & I beleive shee knowes itt. I pray you tell her from mee, I expect shee writes often to mee, by which I shall understand how all your familye doth, & shee will be kept in some exercise. I have delivered my sonn up to you, & I hope you will councell him, he will neede itt and indeed I beleive he likes well what you say, & will be advised by you, I wish he may be serious the tymes requier itt. I hope my sister is in health, to whome I desier my very hartye affections and service may bee presented, as also to my cozen Ann to whom I wish a good husband. I desire my affections may be presented to all your familye, to which I wish a blessinge from the Lorde. I hope I shall have your prayers in the businesse to which I am called. My wife I trust wil be with you before itt bee longe in her way towards Bristoll. Sr. discompose not your thoughts nor estate for what you are to pay mee. Lett me knowe wherein I may complye with your occasions and minde, and be confident you will finde mee to you as your owne heart wishinge

your prosperitye & contentment very synceerlye with the remembrance of my love. I rest

Your affectionate brother & servant

Bristoll,
July 19th 1649. O. CROMWELL.

(On the back of the foregoing letter, besides short hand, there is an account in Mr. Major's hand, of his sheep and other cattle.)

For my beloved Brother Richard Major, Esq; at Hursley in the County of Hampton. Theise.

DEERE BROTHER,

I am not often at leisure, nor nowe to salute my freindes, yet unwillinglye to lose this opportunitye, I take itt only to lett you knowe that you and your familye are often in my prayers. I wish the younge ones well, though they vouchsafe not to write to mee. As for Dick I doe not much expect itt from him, knowinge his idlenesse, but I am angrie with my daughter as a promise breaker, pray you tell her soe, but I hope shee will redeeme herselfe.

It has pleased the Lord to give us (since the taking of Wexford & Rosse) a good interest in Munster by the access of Corke and Youghall, which are both submitted, their commissioners are nowe with mee. Diverse other lesser guarrisons are come in alsoe. The Lord is wonderfull in theise thinges, it's his hand aloane does them; O that all the praise might be ascribed to him. I have beene crazie in my health, but the Lord is pleased to sustaine mee. I begg your prayers. I desier you to call upon my sonn to minde the thinges of God more & more, alas what profitt is their in the thinges of this world, except they bee enjoyed in Christ they are snares. I wish he may enjoy his wife soe and shee him, I wish I may enjoy them both soe. My service to my deere sister cozen Ann, my blessinge to my children, and love to my cozen Barton and the rest.

Sr.
I am

Rosse, No. 13th 1649. Your affectionate brother & servant
Recd 12o Dec. 49. O. CROMWELL.

For my very lovinge Brother Richard Major, Esq. att Hurstlye in Hampsheir. Theise.

(This direction is in a woman's hand: underneath are wrote in Mr. Major's hand these words; 15o May I wrote in behalfe of Mr. Bonny, &c. of Dorsett.)

DEERE BROTHER,

For mee to write unto you the state of our affaires heere were more then indeed I have leisure well to doe, and therefore I hope you doe not expect itt from me seeinge when I write to the parlt I usually am (as becomes mee) very particular with them, and usually

from thence the knowledge thereof is spread. Only 'his lett mee say (which is the best intelligence to friendes that are rulye christian) the Lord is pleased still to vouchsafe us his presence, & to prosper his owne worke in our handes which to us is the more eminent because trulye wee are a companie of poore weake and worthlesse creatures. Trulye our worke is neither from our braines, nor from our courage and strength, but wee followe the Lord whoe goeth before and gather what hee skattereth, that soe all may appeare to bee from him. The takinge of the cittye of Kilkenny hath beene one of our last workes, which indeed I beleive hath beene a grate discomposeinge the enemie, its soe much in their bowells, wee have taken many considerable places latelye without much losse. What can wee say to theise thinges, If God bee for us, whoe can be against us, whoe can fight against the Lord & prosper? Whoe can resist his will? The Lord keepe us in his love. I desier your prayers, your familye is often in mine, I rejoiced to heere how it hath pleased the Lord to deale with my daughter, the Lord blesse her and sanctifie all his dispensations to them and us, I have committed my sonn to you, I pray councell him. Some letters I have lately had from him, have a good savor, the Lord treasure up grace there, that out of that treasurie hee may bringe forth good thinges. Sr. I desier my very entyer affection may be presented to my deere sister, my cozen Ann, and the rest of my cozens, and to idle Dick Norton when you see him. Sr. I rest

Your most loving brother

Ap. y^e^ 2^d^ 1650. O. CROMWELL.
Carrick.

For my very lovinge Brother Richard Major, Esq; att his House at Hurslye. Theise.

DEERE BROTHER,

The exceedinge croude of businesse I had att London is the best excuse I can make for my silence this way. Indeed Sr. my heart beareth me witnesse, I want noe affection to you or yours, you are all often in my poore prayers. I should be glad to heere how the little bratt doth. I could chide both father and the mother for theire neglects of mee, I knowe my sonn is idle, butt I had better thoughts of Doll, I doubt now her husband hath spoyled her, I pray tell her soe from mee. If I had as good leisure as they, I should write sometimes. If my daughter bee breedinge I will excuse her, but not for her nurserie, the Lord blesse them. I hope you give my sonn good councell, I beleive he needes itt. Hee is in the dangerous time of his age, and its a very vaine world, O how good itt is to close with Christ betimes, there is nothinge else worth the lookinge after. I beseech you call upon him, I hope you will discharge my dutye and your owne love: you see how I am imployed, I needs pittye, I knowe what I feele, great place and businesse in the world is not worth the lookinge after, I should have no comfort in mine, but that my hope is in the Lord's presence, I have not

sought theise thinges, truly I have beene called to them by the Lord, and therefore am not without some good assureance that hee will inable his poore worme, and weake servant to doe his will, & to fullfill my generation. In this I begg your prayers, desiringe to be lovinglye remembred to my deere sister, to our sonn & daughter, my cozen Ann and the good family. I rest

Your very affectionate brotlier

Alnwick, July 17, 1650. O. CROMWELL.

For my lovinge Brother Richard Mayor, Esq; at Hursley. Theise. In Hantsheire neere Winchester.

DEERE BROTHER,

Havinge soe good an occasion as the impartinge soe great a mercie as the Lord hath voutchsafed unto us in Scotland I would not omitt the impartinge thereof to you, though I bee full of businesse. Upon Wedensd. wee fought the Scottish armie: They were in number accordinge to all computation above twentye thousand, wee hardly eleven thousand, havinge greate sicknesses upon our armie, after much apealinge to God, the fight lasted above an hower, wee killed (as most thinke) three thousand, tooke neere ten thousand prisoners, all their traine, about thirtye gunns great and smale besides bullet, match and powder, very considerable officers, about two hundred colors, above ten thousand armes, lost not thirtie men. This is the Lords doeing, and it is marvelous in our eyes. Good Sr. give God all the glorie, stirr up all yours & all about you to doe soe, pray for your affectionate brother

O. CROMWELL.

I desier my love may bee presented to my deere sister and to all your familie. I pray tell Doll I do not forgett her nor her little bratt, shee writes very cuninglye & complementally to mee, I expect a letter of plaine dealinge from her; shee is too modest to tell mee whether shee breedes or not. I wish a blessinge upon her & her husband, the Lord make them fruitfull in all that's good, they are att leisure to write often but indeed they are both idle & worthie of blame.

Dunbarr, Sept. 4th 1650.

(No Direction.)

DEERE BROTHER,

I was glad to receave a letter from you, for indeed any thinge that comes from you is very welcome to mee. I believe your expectation of my sonn's cominge is deferred. I wish hee may see a happie deliverye of his wife first, for whom I frequently pray.

I heere my sonn hath exceeded his allowance, and is in debt; truly I cannot comend him therein, wisdom requireinge his livinge within compasse and callinge for it his handes: And in my judgment the reputation arisinge from thence would have beene more real honour then what is attained the other way. I beleive vain men will speake well of him that does ill. I desier to bee understood that I grudge him not laudible recreations, nor an honorable carriage of himselfe in them, nor is any matter of chirge like to fall to my share, a stick with mee. Truly I can finde in my

heart to allow him not only a sufficiency but more for his good, but if pleasure and selfe sattisfaction bee made the businesse of a man's life, soe much cost layd out uppon it, soe much tyme spent in itt as rather answers appetite then the will of God, or is comely before his Saints, I scruple to feede this humor and God forbid that his being my sonn should bee his allowance to live not pleasinglye to our Heavenly Father, whoe hath raised mee out of the dust to what I am. I desier your faythfullnesse (hee beinge alsoe your concernment as well as mine) to advise him to approve himself to the Lord in his course of life, and to search his statutes for a rule to conscience, & to seeke grace from Christ to enable to walke therein. This hath life in itt, and will come to somwhat; what is a poore creature without this? This will not abridge of lawfull pleasures but teach such an use of them as will have the peace of a good conscience goinge alonge with itt. Sr. I write what is in my heart; I pray you comunicate my minde herein to my sonn and be his remembrancer in theise thinges. Truly I love him, hee is deere to me; soe is his wife, and for their sakes doe I thus write. They shall not want comfort nor incoragment from mee so far as I may afford itt; but indeed I cannot thinke I doe well to feede a voluptuous humor in my sonn, if he should make pleasures the businesse of his life in a time when some precious Saincts are bleeding and breathinge out their last for the good and safetye of the rest. Memorable is the speech of Urijah to David, 2d Chron. 11th 11th.

Sr. I beseech you beleive I heere say not this to save my purse for I shall willinglye do what is convenient to satisfie his occasions as I have opportunitye, but as I pray hee may not walke in a course not pleasing to the Lord, soe thinke itt lyeth upon mee to give him (in love) the best councell I may, and know not how better to conveigh it to him then by soe good a hand as yours.

Sr. I pray you acquaint him with theise thoughts of mine, and remember my love to my daughter for whose sake I shall be induced to doe any reasonable thinge. I pray for her happy deliverance frequently and earnestly.

I am sorrie to heere my baylye in Hantsheire should do to my sonn as is intimated by your letter. I assure you I shall not allowe any such thinge. If there bee any suspition of his abuse of the woode I desier it may be looked after and inquired into, that soe if things appeare true he may bee removed, although indeed I must needs say he had the repute of a godly man by diverse that knew him when I placed him there:

Sr. I desier my hartye affection may bee presented to my sister, my cozen Ann and her husband though unknown.

I praise the Lord I have obteyned much mercye in respect of my health, the Lord give mee a truly thankfull hart. I desier your prayers, & rest Your very affectionate brother and servant

June 28th 1651. O. CROMWELL.

For my lovinge Brother Richard Major, Esq; at Hurslye in Hantsheire. Theise.

DEERE BROTHER,

I receaved your lovinge letter for which I thanke you, and suerly

were itt fitt to proceed in that businesse, you should not in the least have beene putt upon any thinge but the trouble, for indeed the land in Essex, with some monie in my hand & some other remnants should have gone towards itt. But indeed I am soe unwillinge to bee a seeker after the world, havinge had so much favor from the Lord in givinge me soe much without seekinge, & soe unwillinge that men should think mee soe, which they will though you only appeare in itt (for they will by one meanes or other knowe it) that indeed I dare not meddle, nor proceede therein. Thus I have tould you my plain thoughts. My hartye love I present to you & my sister, my blesssinge and love to deere Doll & the little one, with love to all. I rest Your lovinge brother

OLIVER P.

May the 4th 1654.

For my lovinge Friend John Dunch, Esq;

SR.

I desier to speake with you, & heeringe a report from Hurslye that you was goinge to yr father's in Berkesheire, I send this expresse to you desiring you to come to mee to Hampton Court: with my respects to yr father, I rest Yr lovinge friend

Aug. 27th 1657. OIVER P.

Copies of original Letters and Papers of Oliver Cromwell's in the British Museum: Copied by leave of a Committee, by the Rev. A. GIFFORD, D.D. for the Use of the Author.

A Copy of Oliver Cromwell's Letter to his Daughter Ireton, exactly taken from the Original.

DEERE DAUGHTER,

I write not to thy husband, partly to avoyd trouble, for one line of mine begitts many of his, wch I doubt makes him sitt up too late, partly because I am my selfe indisposed att this tyme, havinge some other considerations. Your friends att Ely are well, your sister Clapole is (I trust in mercye) exercised with some perplexed thoughts, shee sees her owne vanitye, and carnal minde, bewailinge itt, shee seekes after (as I hope alsoe) that wch will satisfie, and thus to bee a seeker, is to bee of the best sect next a finder, and such an one shall every faythfull humble seeker bee att the end. Happie seeker, happie finder. Whoe ever tasted that the Lord is gracious, without some sence of self vanitye, and badnesse? Whoe ever tasted that graciousnesse of his, and could goe lesse in desier, and lesse then pressinge after full enjoyment. Deere hart presse on; lett not husband lett not any thinge coole thy affections after Christ. I hope hee wil be an occasion to enflame them. That wch is best worthy of love in thy husband, is that of the image of Christ hee beares, looke on that, and love it best and all the rest for that, I pray for

thee, and him, doe soe for me. My service and deere affections to the generall, an generalesse, I heere she is very kind to thee, it adds to all other obligations. My love to all, I am thy deere father

Octob. 25, 1646, London. OLIVER CROMWELL.

The Superscription.

For hys beloved daughter Bridget Ireton at Cornbury, the Gen[ll] quarters, theise.

This is a true copy taken Septemb. 14, 1759, from Harl. Mss. No. 6988.

For the Honorable Will[m] Lenthall, Esq; Speaker of the Parliament. Theise.

SR.

I beseech you upon that scoare of favor (if I be not too bould to call it friendship) which I have ever had from you, lett me desier you to promote my partners humble suite to the house, and obtaine (as farr as possiblye you may) some just satisfaction for him, I know his sufferinges for the publick have beene great, besides the losse of his callinge by his attendance heere: His affections haue beene true, and constant, and I beleive his decay great in his estate, it wil be justice and charitye to him, and I shall acknowledge itt as a fauor to Your most humble servant

July 10, 1649. O. CROMWELL.

This is exactly copied from the original in Harl. Mss. 6988. Sept. 13, 1759.

To Colonel Hacker. (Wrote in another hand.)

SR.

I have the best consideration I can for the præsent in this businesse, and although I beleiue capt. Hubbert is a worthy man, and heere soe much, yett as the case stands, I cannott with satisfaction to my selfe, and some others revoake the commission I had given to capt. Empson, w[th]out offence to them, and reflection upon my owne judgment, I pray lett capt. Hubbert knowe, I shall not be unmindefull of him, and that noe disrespect is intended to him. But indeed I was not satisfied with your last speech to mee about Empson, that hee was a better præcher then a fighter or souldier, or words to that effect. Truly I thinke hee that prayes & præches best will fight best. I know nothing will giue like courage and confidence as the knowledge of God in Christ will, and I bless God to see any in this armye able and willinge to impart the knowledge they have for the good of others. And I expect itt be encouraged by all cheife officers in this armye especially, and I hope you will do soe. I pray receave capt. Empson lovinglye, I dare assure you hee is a good man and a good officer, I woud wee had noe worse. I rest

Your louinge freind

Dec. 25, 1650. O. CROMWELL.

An exact copy from Harl. Mss. No. 5. 7502. 18 Sept. 1759.

MY DEEREST,

I could not satisfie my selfe to omitt this poast, although I have not much to write, yet indeed I love to write to my deere whoe is very much in my heart, it joyes mee to heere thy soule prospereth, the Lord increase his favors to thee more and more. The great good thy soule can wish is that the Lord lift upon thee, the light of his countenance which is better then life. The Lord blesse all thy good councell and example to those about thee, and heere all thy prayers, and accept thee alwayes. I am glad to heere thy sonn and daughter are with thee. I hope thou wilt have some good oportunitye of good advise to him. Present my duty to my mother, my love to all the familye. Still pray for thine O. CROMWELL.

Edinburgh 3d of May, 1651.

Exactly copied from the original in Harl. Mss. 7502. No. 6. Sept. 19, 1759.

Bibliothecæ Sloaniana, Mscc. 345. pag. 126.

SR.

I desire you to send mee the resons of the Scotts to inforce ther * desier of uniformity in religion expressed in ther * 8 article, I mean that which I had before of you, I would peruse itt against wee fall upon that debate which wil be speedily. Yours OL. CROMWELL.

To his loving friend Mr. Willingham, att
his house in Swithins Lane.

* Whether the last letter is an *e* or *r* I am not certain, the rest is exactly copied. Sept. 22, 1759.

In the possession of James Lamb, Esq; of Fairford, in Gloucestershire.

For y^e^ Hono^ble^ the Committee for the army these.

GENTL.

It was not a little wonder to me to see that you should send Mr. Symonds so great a journey about a business importinge so little as far as it relates to me, when as if my poore opinion may not be rejected by you, I have to offer to that w^ch^ I thinke the most noble end, to witt the comemoracon of that great mercie att Dunbar, & the gratuitie to the army, w^ch^ might better be expressed upon the meddal by engraving as on the one side the parliam^t^ w^ch^ I heare was intended & will do singularly well, so on the other side an army w^th^ this inscription over the head of it, The Lord of Hosts, w^co^ was o^r^ word that day; wherefore if I may begg it as a favo^r^ from you I most earnestly beseech you if I may doe it w^thout^ offence that it may be soe, & if you thinke not fitt to have it as I offer, you may alter it as you see cause, only I doe thinke I may truely say it wil be verie thankfully acknowledged by me, if you will spare the having my effigies in it.

The gentlemans paynes & trouble hither have been verie great, & I shall make it my second suite unto you that you will please to

conferr upon him that imploym^{t} in yo^{r} service w^{ch} Nicholas Briott had before him, indeed the man is ingenious & worthie of incouragem^{t}. I may not presume much, but if at my request & for my sake he may obteyne this favo^{r}, I shall putt it upon the accompt of my obligacons w^{ch} are not a few, & I hope shal be found readie gratefully to acknowledge & to approve myself,

Gentl.

Edinburgh, 4th of Feb. 1650.

Yo^{r} most reall serv^{t},

O. CROMWELL.

An oval medal in silver of general Cromwell in profile, was struck, in commemoration of the victory at Dunbar, as it is thought, by his own appointment; being the first drawn for him from the life, by Simon; and is remarkable for his likeness when lieutenant-general; as it does appear, by comparing it with a picture drawn of him by Walker, his painter, about that time. The profile of this medal, differing in some respects from a medal copied by Simon also from a curious limning drawn by Samuel Cooper; the original whereof is preserved in the collection of the duke of Devonshire.—But these are frequently seen in silver, and sometimes in gold; and when fairly struck, and well preserved, do great honour to the ingenious artist who engraved these curious and memorable medals. —See Medals, great seals, impressions, from the elaborate works of Thomas Simon, chief engraver of the mint to King Charles I. to the Commonwealth, the Lord Protector Cromwell, and in the reign of King Charles II. to 1665. By George Vertue. 4to 1753. p. 13.

In the possession of the Rev. Dr. Birch.

Copy of Oliver Cromwell's Letter to Mr. Cotton, Octob. 2, 1651.

WORTHY SIR AND MY CHRISTIAN FRIEND,

I receaved yours a few dayes sithence, it was welcome to mee, because signed by you, whome I love and honour in the Lord. But more to see some of the same grounds of our actinges stirringe in you, that have in us to quiet us in our worke, and support us therein, which hath had greatest difficultye in our engagement with Scotland, by reason wee have had to doe with some, whoe were (I verily thinke) godly, but through weaknesse and the subtiltie of Sathan, involved in interest against the Lord, and his people. With what tendernesse wee have proceeded with such, and that in synceritie, our papers (which I suppose you have seen) will in part manifest, and I give you some comfortable * * * * * * assurance off. The Lord hath marvelously appeared even against them. And now againe when all the power was devolved into the Scotish Kinge, and the malignant partie, they invadinge England, the Lord rayned upon them such snares as the enclosed will shew, only the narrative is short in this, that of their whole armie when the narrative was framed, not five of their whole armie returned. Surely Sr. the Lord is greatly to bee feared, as to be praised. Wee need your prayers in this as much as ever, how shall wee behave ourselves after such mercyes? What is the Lord a doeinge? What prophesies are now

fulfillinge? Who is a God like ours? To knowe his will, to doe his will are both of him.

I tooke this libertye from businesse to salute you thus in a word, truly I am ready to serve you, and the rest of our brethren, and the churches with you, I am a poor weake creature, and not worthy the name of a worme, yet accepted to serve the Lord and his people; indeed my dear friend between you and mee you know not mee, my weaknesses, my inordinate passions, my unskilfulnesse, and every way unfitnesse to my worke, yett, yett, the Lord who will have mercye on whom hee will, does as you see. Pray for mee, salute all christian friends though unknown. I rest

Oct. 2, 1651. Your affectionate friend to serve you,

For my esteemed friend Mr. Cotton pastor to the church at Boston in New England. These. O. CROMWELL.

Copy of a letter to L. General Fleetwood (who married Bridget, eldest daughter of O. Cromwell, and widow of General Ireton,) in the possession of Mrs. Cook of Newington in Middlesex, granddaughter of that General.

DEERE CHARLES,

Although I doe not soe often (as is desired by me) acquaint you howe itt is with mee, yett I doubt not of your prayers in my behalfe that in all thinges I may walke as becometh the Gospell. Truly I never more needed all helps from my christian friends than nowe, fayne would I have my service accepted of the Saincts (if the Lord will) but it is not soe, beinge of different judgments, and of each sort, most seekinge to propagate their owne, that spirit of kindnesse that is to them all, is hardly accepted of any. I hope I can say it my life has beene a willinge a sacrifice and I hope is, for them all. Yett it much falls out as when the two Hebrews were rebuked, you know upon whom they turned their displeasure; but the Lord is with, and will I trust make manifest that I am no enemie, Oh how easy is mercye to bee abused. Perswade friends with you to be very sober. If the day of the Lord be so neere (as some say) how should our moderation appeare. If every one (instead of contending) would justifie his forme by love and meeknesse, wisdom would be justified of her children, but alas I am in my tentation ready to say, Oh would I had winges like a dove, then would I, &c. but this I feare is my hast. I blesse the Lord I have somewhat keepes me alive some sparkes of the light of his countenance, and some syncerityc above mans judgment, excuse me thus unbowelinge my selfe to you, pray for mee and desire my freindes to doe soe also, my love to thy deere wife whom indeed I entyerly love, both naturally, and upon the best account, and my blessinge (if it be worth any thinge) upon thy little babe. Sr. George Ascough havinge occasions with you desired my letters to you on his behalfe; if hee come or send, I pray you shew him what favour you can. Indeed his services have been considerable for the state, and I doubt hee hath not been answered with suitable respect. Therefore again I

desier you, and the commissioners to take him into a very particular care & helpe him soe farr as justice and reason will any wayes afford. Remember my harty affections to all the officers. The Lord blesse you all. Soe prayeth

August 22th, 1653. Your truly lovinge father,

O. CROMWELL.

All heere love you, and are in health, your children and all.

The following* was taken from the impression from a copper plate gilt, found in a leaden canister, lying on the breast of the corpse, when the grave and coffin of Oliver Cromwell were broke open by order of the government after the Restoration, in order to have his body hanged up at Tyburn.

The plate and canister were preserved by serjeant Norfolk, then serjeant at arms to the house of commons, who left it to his only daughter and child Mary, who married Hope Gifford, Esq; J. C. at Colchester, whose only daughter and child Mary, married Sir Anthony Abdy of Felix-Hall, Essex, near Kelvedon, Bart. who left it to his third wife, by whose permission Dr. Mortimer, S. R. Secr. obtained the impression from the original plate in the year 1739.

'Oliverius Protector Reipublicæ Angliæ, Scotiæ, et Hiberniæ, Natus 25° Aprilis Anno 1599°, Inauguratus 16° Decembris 1653, Mortuus 30° Septembris Anno 1658°, hic situs est.'

Jan. 30. O. S. "The odious carcasses of O. Cromwell, H. Ireton, and J. Bradshaw drawn upon sledges to Tyburn, and being pulled out of their coffins, there hanged at the several angles of that triple tree till sun set. Then taken down, beheaded, and their loathsome trunks thrown into a deep hole under the gallowes. Their heads were afterwards set upon poles on the top of Westminster-Hall." Gesta Britannorum, at the end of Wharton's Almanack for 1663.

The mason's receipt for taking up the corpse; from a copy under Dr. Cromwell Mortimer's hand, taken from the original receipt.

'May the 4th day, 1661. Rec^d then in full of the worshipful serjeant Norfolke, fiveteen shillinges, for taking up the corpes of Cromell, & Ierton & Brasaw.

'Rec. by mee John Lewis.'

* Communicated by Nicolas Monckley, of Lincoln's Inn, Esq.

END OF VOL. III.

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